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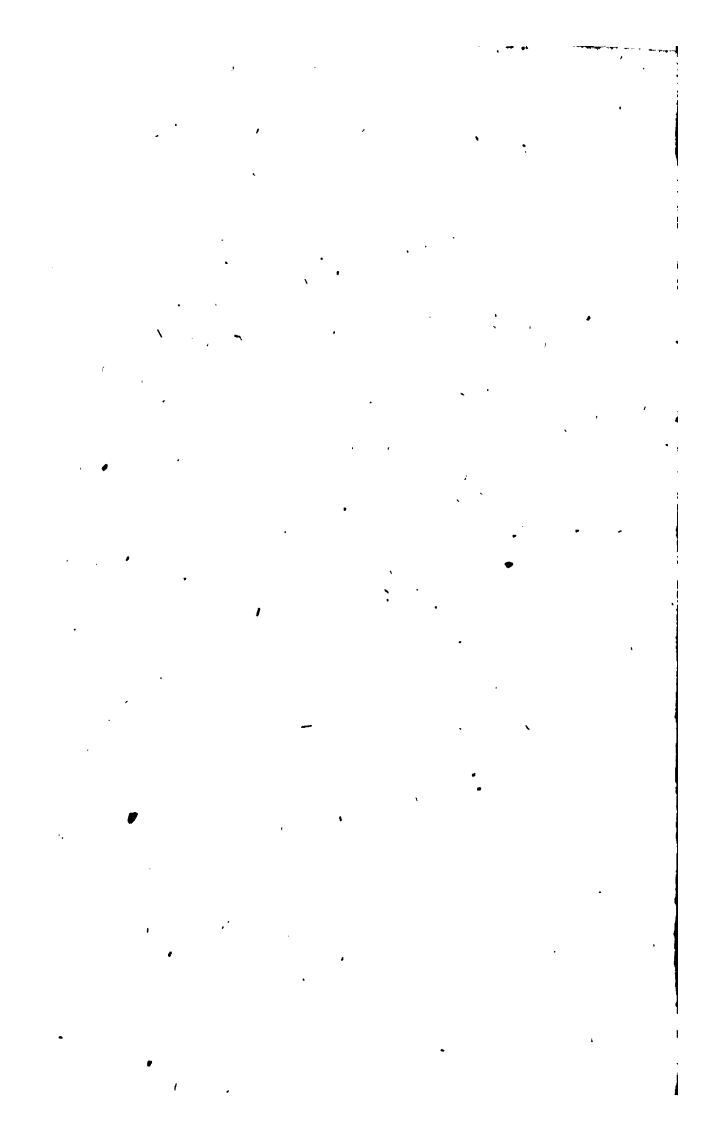
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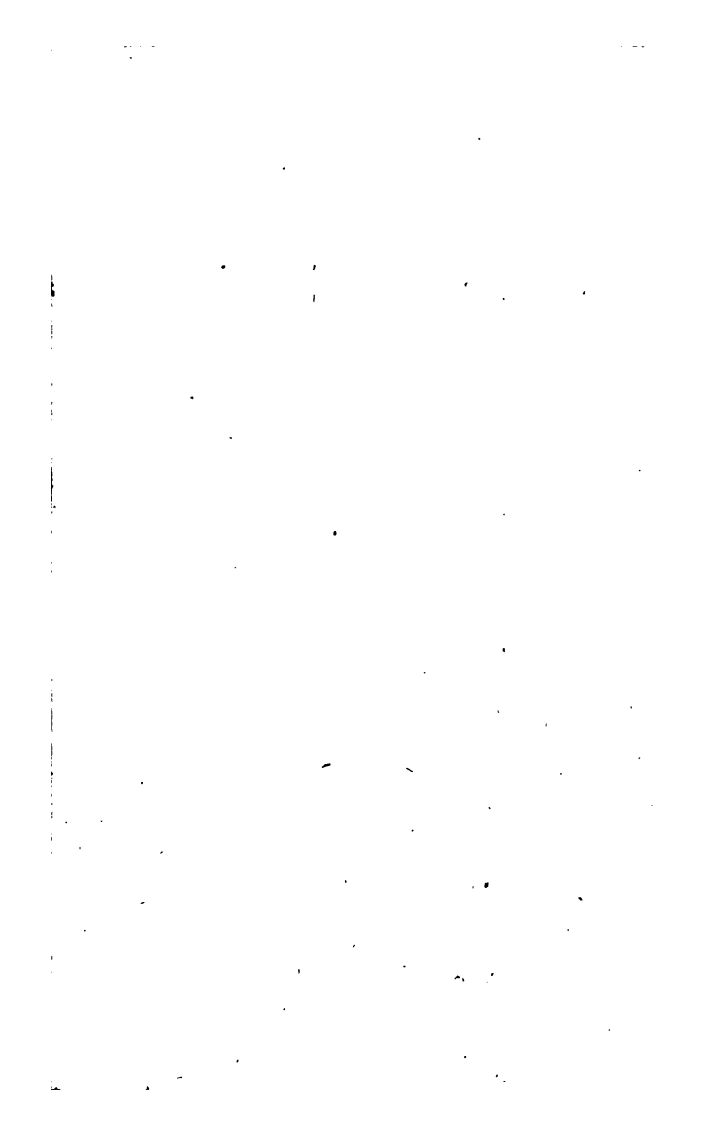
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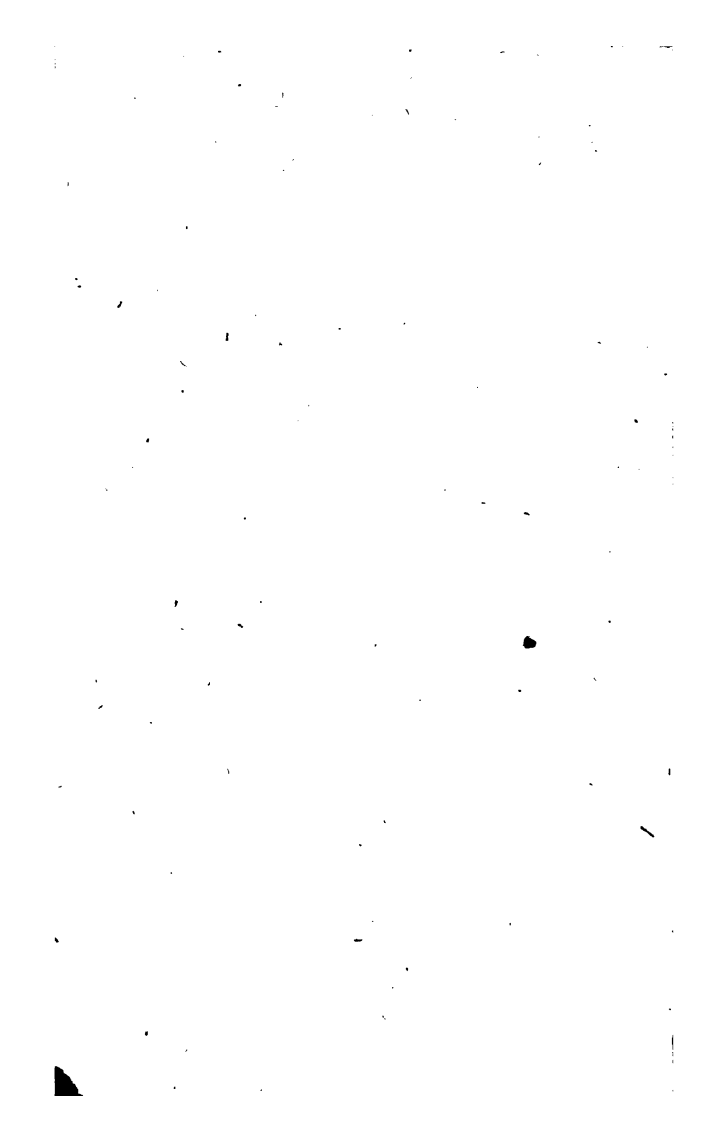
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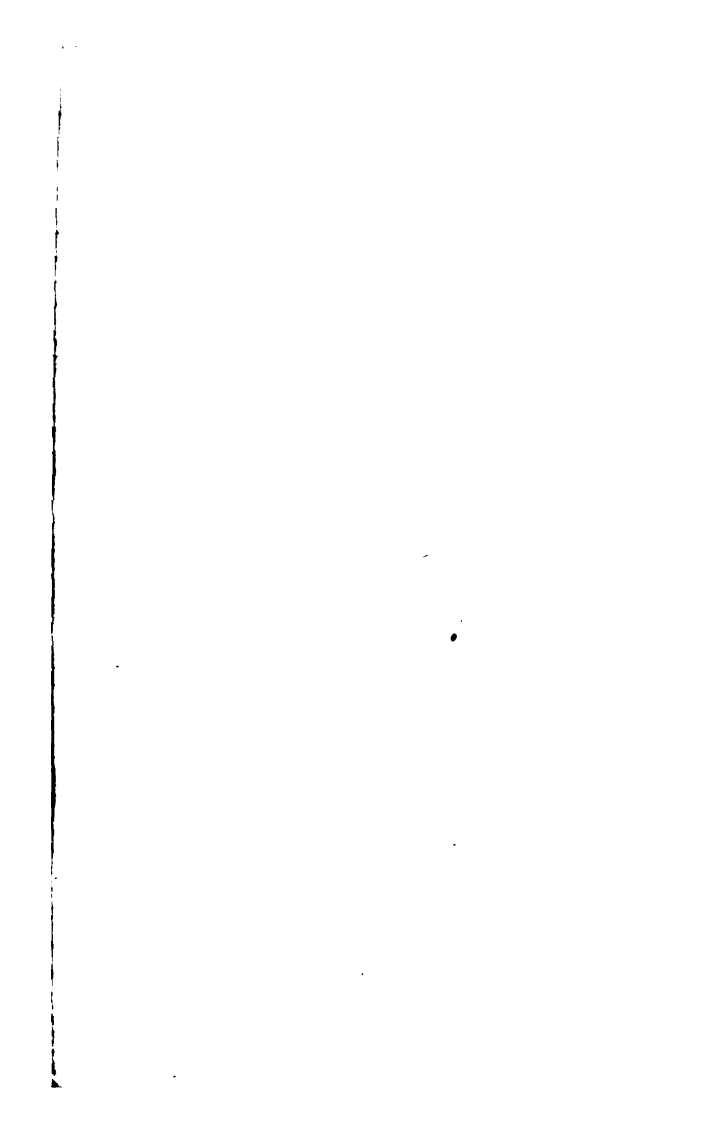














The Pythoness.

Page 53.

London. Published by Harvey & Darton, Feb' 23, 1824.

J. H. 1825

GRECIAN STORIES.

BY MARIA HACK.

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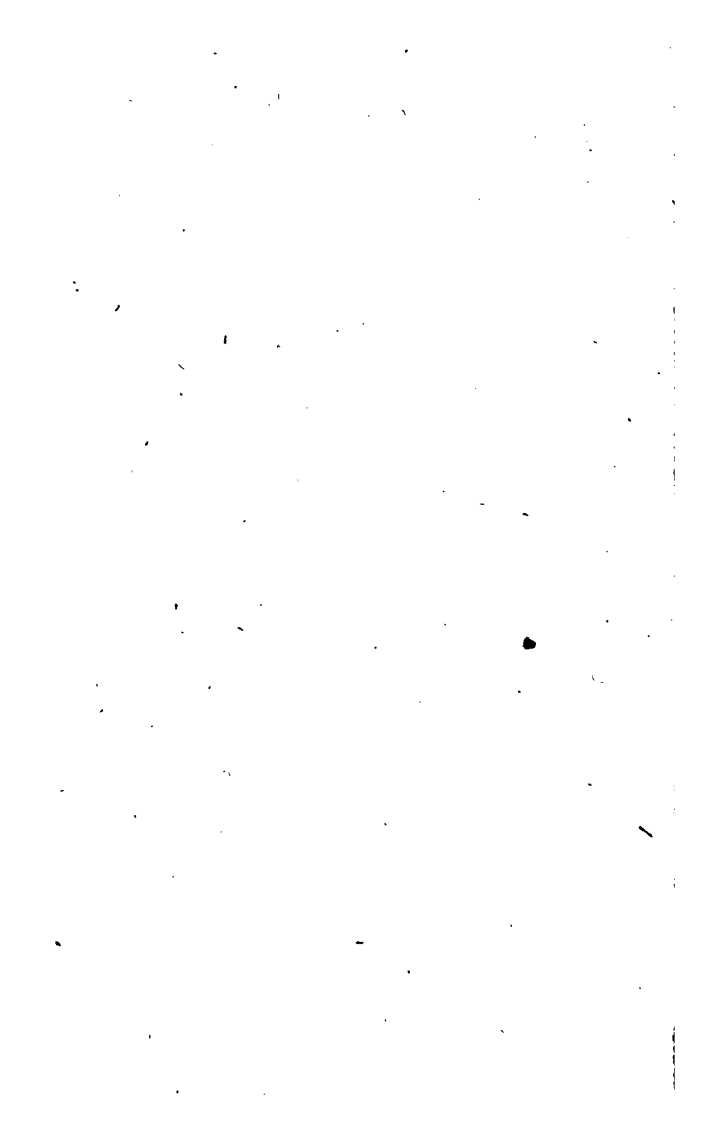
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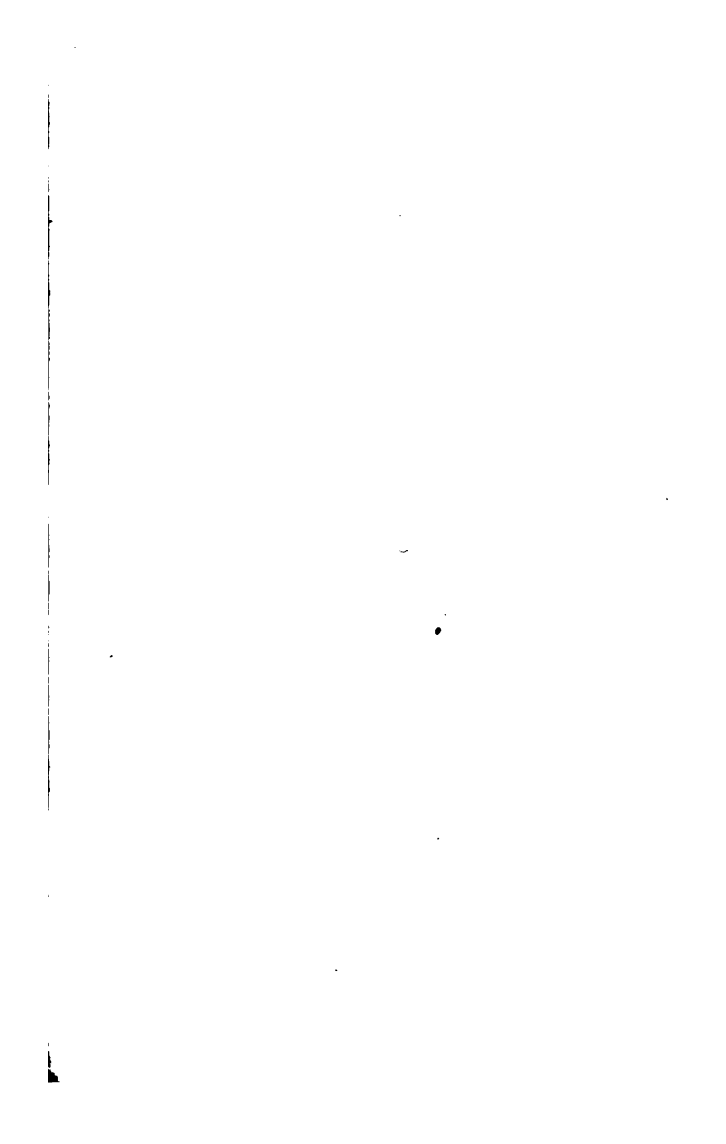
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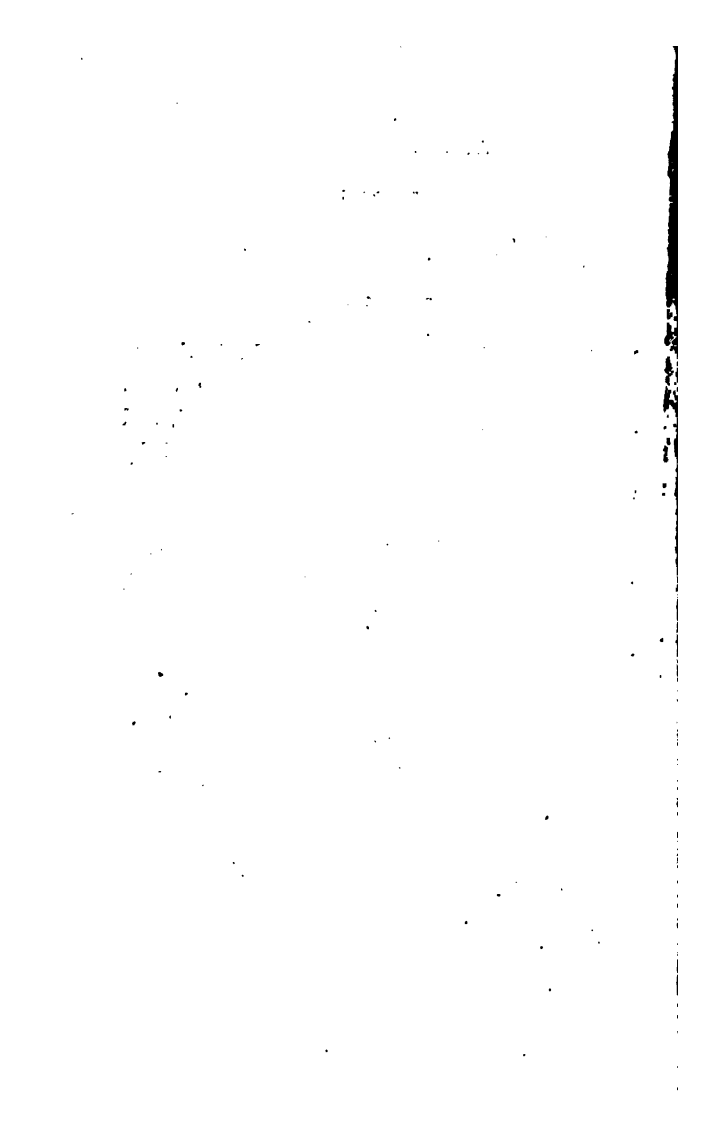


ADVERTISEMENT
TO THE
SECOND EDITION.

IN the first edition of this little work, the Stories were accompanied by Conversations, in which ancient customs were familiarly explained, and the lessons of morality or religion presented by the different narratives, became, occasionally, the subjects of discussion.

Some persons have thought that the frequent interruptions occasioned by this plan, lessened the interest of the historical details, and rendered the work less eligible as a class-book for schools. In order to remove this objection, the book has now been re-modelled; and the explanatory remarks, formerly given in conversation, will be found incorporated with the narrative. The Conversation on War was necessarily omitted, as being too slightly connected with Grecian History to accord with the present plan.

Chichester, 1824.



GRECIAN STORIES.

THE ARGONAUTS.

Les poètes, dont l'art par une audace étrange
Sait du faux et du vrai faire un confus mélange,
De leurs récits menteurs prirent pour fondemens
Les fidèles récits de tant d'événemens ;
Et pour mieux amuser les oisives oreilles,
Cherchèrent dans ces faits leurs premières merveilles.

RACINE LE FILS.

THE Greeks, though now oppressed and degraded by their Turkish masters, were once a brave and free people, who excelled all the surrounding nations in learning, and in the arts of sculpture, painting, and architecture. Their history is also particularly interesting, because they were the first of all the European nations who emerged from

the savage state. The stories which we are going to relate, will describe the actions of famous men among the Greeks, in different periods of their history.

It is said, that the first inhabitants of Greece dwelt in caves, which they only quitted, to dispute with the beasts of the field their coarse, and often hurtful food *. Perhaps the danger they incurred from the attacks of these ferocious animals, first made men sensible of the advantages they would derive from living in society. They saw that the strong might protect the weak; and the weak, in their turn, contribute to the comforts of the strong. The first inhabitants of Greece could hardly have subsisted without supporting each other against the ravenous beasts of the woods and mountains, which every where surrounded them. Lions had made their way into Europe; and for more than a thousand years after the time of which we are speaking, these terrible animals remained in that line of wild

* Anacharsis, Introduc. p. 1.

country which extended from the Achelous, in Acarnania, to the river Nestus, in Thrace *. United, at length, under daring chiefs, these barbarians formed hordes of savage banditti, of whom we have nothing interesting to relate. At length Inachus arrived from Egypt; and from that land, so renowned for wisdom, he brought a colony, which settling in the beautiful valleys of Greece, in a short time changed the face of the country. Inachus and his followers inhabited that tract, which you will find called in the map Argolis and Arcadia. The savage natives beheld their peaceful labours with wonder; and perceiving how infinitely superior the strangers were to themselves in knowledge, they received their new acquaintance with open arms, and endeavoured to profit by their example. Such was the foundation of the kingdom of Argos. After this, Cecrops, Cadmus, and Danaus arrived, bringing new colonies of Egyptians and Phœnicians: the

* Mitford's History of Greece, vol. i. p. 17.

first settled in Attica, the second in Boeotia, and the third in Argolis*.

In a short time these Egyptians and the natives of Attica formed but one people, under the government of Cecrops, who endeavoured to enlighten the minds, and civilize the manners of his new subjects. He taught them to cultivate the earth, and no longer to depend on the casual bounty of nature for subsistence. Different species of acorns had hitherto been their chief article of food; they were now instructed how to raise corn, and the olive was introduced from Egypt†.

Cecrops dedicated his rising city to Minerva, who was called Athena by the Greeks and Egyptians‡: from her the city received the name of Athens. He also erected many temples and altars, and invoked the sovereign of the gods under the title of the Most High; for the learned Egyptians, though their religion was mixed with absurd fables,

* Anacharsis, Int. p. 19. † Ib. 21.

‡ Lempriere, Class. Dict.

believed that there is only one God, and that after death men will live again in a state of reward or punishment*.

The other colonists also dedicated their cities to some particular divinity. Argos was consecrated to Juno, and Thebes to Bacchus†. Cadmus instructed the Greeks in the use of the alphabet‡; that great means of knowledge, which, by the different combinations of a few simple characters, enables us to become acquainted with the thoughts and actions of men who lived in distant ages, and also to share the pleasure of the traveller, who, in our own times, explores unknown countries.

Danaüs taught the inhabitants of Argos to dig wells; an important benefit in a hot country. The Argives were so ignorant, that when the natural fountains were dried up, they suffered from want of water, though the ground on which their city stood abound-

* Tytler, *El. Gen. Hist.* vol. i. p. 41.

† Anacharsis, *ib.* p. 23.

‡ Tytler, vol. i. p. 37.

ed with excellent springs at a little depth. When Danaüs showed them this easy means of securing a constant supply of that precious element, it is said their admiration and gratitude were so highly excited, that they resolved to have Danaüs for their king*. Thus, when men first formed themselves into societies, those who possessed that useful knowledge of which others were ignorant, acquired such influence over the people who were benefited by their superior information, that they voluntarily resigned a part of their liberty, and submitted to their authority. Knowledge was the foundation of power.

After thus slightly noticing the state of Greece in this early period, we may attempt to give some account of the first enterprise undertaken by that people: it was called the Expedition of the Argonauts, and is supposed to have taken place about three hundred years after the foundation of Athens†.

Jason, a young Thessalian prince of high

* Mitford, vol. i. p. 35.

† Tytler, p. 41.

spirit and great bodily strength and activity, was ambitious of conducting a pirating expedition to a greater distance than any of his countrymen had yet ventured to sail. Assisted by the wealth and power of his uncle, who was prince of that district, and by the skill of a Phœnician mechanic, he built a vessel larger than had been commonly seen among the Greeks. The rank and character of Jason, and the fame of his new ship, induced young men of distinction, from other parts of Greece, to join in the adventure*.

Before we proceed any further with the story, we will endeavour to give some account of Jason's principal companions. Some of them were called *heroes*; a title applied by the ancients to men who had signalized themselves by their actions. In those rude ages, men of extraordinary bodily strength often infested the highways, and attacked passengers. Cruel princes often inflicted lingering and painful tortures on the

* Mitford, vol. i. p. 47.

innocent. The Heroes travelled over Greece, and freed it from the violence both of kings and robbers. The Greeks beheld these courageous men with the admiration due to a superior order of beings. They pretended that these benefactors were allied to the immortal gods; and after their death, many of them received divine honours. These exploits being rewarded with so much glory, the honour of protecting their country became the first ambition of noble minds.

Did some ferocious beast issue from the recesses of the neighbouring forest, and spread terror over the plain, the hero of the district considered it as his duty to triumph over the monster, in view of a people who esteemed strength as the first of qualities, and courage as the greatest virtue. Hercules, the most famous of all these heroes, accompanied Jason on his hazardous expedition. There were also Castor and Pollux, the sons of Tyndarus king of Sparta, celebrated for their valour and their mutual affection, and also for being the brothers of the beautiful Helen. Peleus, the father of

Achilles, was another of the party; the poet Orpheus, a native of Thrace, who shared those labours which he cheered by his songs; and Theseus, the son of Ægeus, king of Athens, who, roused to emulation by the fame of Hercules, like him signalized his courage; delivering his country from the ferocious bull of Marathon, and the cruel tribute imposed by Minos*. Such were the men, who, with many others, assembled at Iolchos, a port of Thessaly, situated in the gulf opposite to the northern shore of Eubœa. It was the hope of obtaining the far-famed treasures of Colchis, which induced Jason to attempt this hazardous voyage. That country, situated on the eastern shores of the Euxine Sea, was in some degree civilized by an Egyptian colony, and it abounded in mines of iron, silver, and gold. The rapid torrents which rushed from the sides of Mount Caucasus, brought with them small particles of that precious metal. We are told, that the Colchians were in the

* Anacharsis, ib. p. 30—36.

practice of extending fleeces across the beds of these torrents, the water passed through the fleeces, and the particles of gold remained entangled in the wool. This circumstance gave rise to the fable of the Golden Fleece*.

Such is, perhaps, the most probable account of this famous expedition, which took place long before the period of authentic history. The adventures of Jason were celebrated by the poets, and many strange fictions were blended with the tale. Thus, they are not satisfied with the *Argo*, which was the name of Jason's vessel, being superior to any other bark of that time, but they call her the first ship that ever was built.

“ So when the first bold vessel dar'd the seas,
High on the stern the Thracian rais'd his strain,
While *Argo* saw her kindred trees
Descend from *Pelion* to the main;
Transported demi-gods stood round,
And men grew heroes at the sound,
Inflam'd with glory's charms:

* *Mitford*, vol. i. p. 48.

Each chief his seven-fold shield display'd,
And half unsheath'd the shining blade;
And seas, and rocks, and skies rebound,
To arms, to arms, to arms *!"

The adventurers were fifty-five in number, and they were called Argonauts, from Argo, the name of their ship. The ships of the ancients were rowed by men, as well as impelled by the wind: the Argo had fifty oars†. The long voyage which the Argonauts had in prospect, must have been attended by many dangers; and as they had not the advantage of a compass, it is not likely they would have succeeded, but for the assistance of a very clever man named Chiron, who invented the plan of dividing the stars into those groups which we call constellations. By carefully observing their rising and setting, and also their position with respect to the pole-star, the Argonauts would be able to direct their course with tolerable certainty.

After a tedious voyage, in which they

* Pope's Ode.

† Lempriere.

encountered many dangers, and lost some of their companions, they at last arrived in safety at *Æea*, the capital of Colchis. The king of that country would not permit Jason to take the Golden Fleece, except on such hard conditions that it appeared quite impossible for him to succeed. By the assistance of Medea, the princess of Colchis, he surmounted all his difficulties, and carried off the golden treasure in triumph*.

Chiron was one of the first Greeks who acquired the art of breaking and riding horses. He was a native of Thessaly, one of the northern states of Greece, a country from the earliest times famed for horses, and the fondness of its inhabitants for the art of horsemanship. This gave rise to a most extravagant fable: the poets pretended that in Thessaly there lived a race of creatures called Centaurs, who, with the body and legs of a horse had, instead of a horse's head and neck, the upper half of the body of a man. We have said that Chiron in-

* Lempriere.

vented the scheme of the constellations, on purpose to assist the Argonauts in their voyage; but his knowledge was not confined to horsemanship and astronomy: he was one of those who first studied medicine, botany, and surgery. Most of the heroes of his time were desirous of becoming his pupils. It is said that he instructed Hercules in music, medicine, and justice. Peleus, another of the Argonauts, intended to leave his son Achilles under the care of the old Centaur. "Achilles' wrath" began to manifest itself even in childhood, and it is said that Chiron took great pains to instruct him in music; hoping it might not only prove the means of inciting him to virtuous actions, but that it might calm the impetuosity of his temper. Chiron inhabited a grotto or cave at the foot of Mount Pelion: his wisdom and knowledge rendered this cave the most famous school in Greece*.

The cave of Chiron lay just in the course

* Mitford, vol. i. p. 45; Rees's Cyclo. Art.

of the Argonauts, and they resolved to pay him a farewell visit as they passed by. This visit is described in the following poem.

VISIT OF THE ARGONAUTS TO THE CAVE
OF CHIRON THE CENTAUR *.

Then with a whistling breeze did Juno fill the sail,
And Argo, self-impell'd, shot swift before the gale.
The kings with nerve and heart the oar unwearied plied;
Plough'd by the keel, foam'd white th' immeasurable
tide.

But when from Ocean's streams the sacred dawn appear'd,

And morning's pleasant light both gods and mortals cheer'd;

Then from the shore, the rocks and windy summits high
Of wood-topp'd Pelion rear'd their beacon 'midst the sky.

The helm, with both his hands, the pilot Tiphys held;

The vessel cut the wave, with quiet course impell'd:

Then swift they near'd the shore; the wooden ladder cast,

And forth the heroes leap'd, reliev'd from labours past.

Then to the circling throng, the horseman Peleus cried:

"Mark, friends! yon shadowing crag, midway the
mountain-side:

* From Specimens of the Classic Poets, translated by Elton.

There Chiron dwells, most just of all the Centaur race
That haunt high Pelion's top; a cave his dwelling-
place.

He there awards the right, or heals the body's pains;
And chaunts to neighbouring tribes, oracular, his strains:
To Phœbus' chorded harp the laws, in wisdom sings,
Or Hermes' hollow lute, of shell sonorous, strings;
And therefore Thetis came, with silver feet, to trace
High Pelion's waving woods, my babe in her embrace;
And here to Chiron's hands the new-born infant
brought,

To cherish with a father's eye, and rear with prudent
thought.

Indulge my longing, friends! with me the cavern
tread,

To mark how fares my boy, how gifted and how bred."
He trod the beaten path, we follow'd where he led.

We enter'd straight a grot, of gloomy twilight shade;
There, on a lowly couch, the Centaur huge was laid.
At length unmeasur'd stretch'd his rapid legs were
thrown,

And, shod with horny hoofs, reclin'd upon the stone.
The boy Achilles stood, erect, beside the sire,
And smote, with pliant hand, the spirit-soothing lyre.
But when the Centaur saw the noble kings appear,
He rose, with courteous act, and kiss'd, and brought
them dainty cheer.

The wine in beakers serv'd; the branchy couches spread
With scattered leaves, and plac'd each guest upon his
bed.

In dishes rude, the flesh of boars and stags bestow'd,
While draughts of luscious wine in equal measure
flow'd.

But now, when food and drink had satisfied the heart,
With loud applauding hands they urg'd my minstrel art;
That I in contest match'd against the Centaur sire,
Should to some wide-fam'd strain attune the ringing
lyre.

But I, averse, forbore in contest to engage,
And blush'd that youth should vie with more experienc'd age:

Till Chiron join'd the wish, himself prepar'd to sing,
And forc'd me to contend, reluctant, on the string.
Achilles stretch'd his hand, and gave the beauteous
shell,

Which Chiron took, and sang the Centaur combat fell:
How them the Lapithæ for daring outrage slew;
How, mad with strength of wine, 'gainst Hercules
they flew,
And him on Pholoe's mount, to stubborn conflict drew.

I next the lute receiv'd, of echo sweet and shrill,
And bade my breathing lips their honour'd song distil.
In dark and mystic hymn I sang of Chaos old,
How the disparted elements in round alternate roll'd:
Heaven flow'd through boundless space; and earth her
teeming train
Fed from her ample breast, and deep in whirlpools
heav'd the main.

I sang of elder Love, who, self-sufficing, wrought
Creation's differing forms, with many counsell'd thought.

Of baneful Saturn next; and how the Heaven above
Fell with its regal sway to thunder-launching Jove.
I sang the younger Gods, whence rose their various
birth,
How spread their sep'rate pow'rs thro' sea, and air,
and earth.
Of Brimus and of Bacchus last, and giant's mystic fame,
And whence man's weaker race arose, of many nation'd
name.

Through winding cavities, that scoop'd the rocky cell,
With tone sonorous thrill'd my sweetly-vocal shell.
High Pelion's mountain-heads, and woody valleys round,
And all his lofty oaks remurmur to the sound:
His oaks uprooted rush, and all tumultuous wave
Around the darken'd mouth of Chiron's hollow cave.
The rocks re-echo shrill; the beasts of forest wild
Stand at the cavern's mouth, in list'ning trance be-
guil'd;

The birds surround the den; and, as in weary rest,
They drop their fluttering wings, forgetful of the nest.
Amaz'd the Centaur saw; his clapping hands he beat;
And stamp'd in ecstasy the rock with hoof'd and horny
feet.

When Tiphys threads the cave, and bids the Minyan
train

To hurry swift on board; and thus I ceas'd my strain.
The Argonauts leap'd up in haste, and snatch'd their
arms again.

bles, and allowed of many wicked actions*. There is no difficulty in believing that this was the origin of their religion, because the Scriptures teach us that all the nations of the earth are equally descended from Noah; that, at first, they all spoke the same language, and lived near each other: we also read, that when the foolish presumption of those who journeyed from the east, was checked by the confusion of tongues at Babel, they were dispersed into different countries. But though the children of Noah and their families were thus scattered over the earth, we can easily suppose that they would carry with them the remembrance of what they had heard from their fathers respecting the Almighty, and his dealings with men. As there were at that time no written histories, the knowledge of past events was preserved by the stories which fathers related to their children. The true, simple account of what had really happened, was, by degrees, mixed with error; and, when once

* Hartley on Man. vol. ii. p. 192.

the poets began with their fables, there was no fiction too wild for them to invent, and for the ignorant, credulous people, to believe. Many of these fables retain so much truth, that it is easy to trace the source whence they sprung. Such, for instance, is the following:

“In ancient days, a king reigned in Thesaly, who was named Deucalion. In his time the whole earth was overwhelmed by a flood. The wickedness of men had made Jupiter very angry, and he resolved to destroy the guilty race. Immediately the earth was covered with a boundless expanse of water; and the terrified inhabitants climbed up the highest mountains, to avoid impending destruction. The waters continued to rise higher and higher, till there remained no hope of escaping from this universal calamity. The father of Deucalion had advised him to make himself a ship, and by this means he was saved, together with his wife Pyrrha. The vessel was tossed about during nine successive days, and at last it settled on the

top of Mount Parnassus, where Deucalion remained till the waters had subsided."

Thus far, the fable so nearly resembles the account of the deluge in the book of Genesis, that it evidently appears to be taken from it; but the simplicity of truth by no means satisfied that taste for the marvellous which had already begun to prevail: and we read that Deucalion and Pyrrha repaired the loss of mankind by throwing stones behind them. Those thrown by Deucalion became men. Pyrrha was equally successful; for her stones were transformed into women*.

The religion of the ancient pagans being derived from the imperfect accounts of tradition, it is not surprising that truth should be mixed with fables. Their poets taught, (for in those early times the poets were not only the historians, but they settled the religious opinions of the Greeks,) that the first race of men lived like gods, in perfect happiness; exempt from labour, from old age, and from all evil. The earth abundantly supplied

* Lemprière.

them with fruits; and at length they died without pain, and became happy and benevolent spirits, appointed by the Divine Wisdom to superintend the future race of men, and watch over their conduct. This happy period, the poet Hesiod called the golden age; and, in some respects, it resembles the scripture account of the state of our first parents in the garden of Eden. Let us also observe how nearly Hesiod's account of the silver age, which succeeded the golden, accords with the state of the world after the fall of Adam. "The second race of men," says he, "were like those of the golden age neither in nature, nor in moral character. They scarcely attained to manhood in a hundred years: yet they were subject to pain and folly, and died early. (That is, early when compared to the men of the golden age.) They were violent and unjust towards each other, nor would they duly reverence the immortal gods. Jupiter, therefore, *hid this race in his anger*, because they honoured not the blessed Gods of Heaven*."

* Mitford, vol. i. p. 108.

Here we may trace some resemblance to the scripture account of the long lives of the antediluvians, and of their destruction by the deluge. In the early chapters of Genesis we repeatedly read, that the Divine Being was pleased, on different occasions, to speak to men, and direct their actions. Such communications of the Deity were also believed by the pagans; and error is most dangerous when it is mixed with truth. Careless, or very ignorant people will not, or cannot separate them, but receive both together. That degree of truth which the religion of the ancient heathens possessed, was the principal cause of its success, for men are naturally willing to approve and believe what is fit and useful *. The belief of the reality of divine communications was retained after the knowledge of the true God was lost; and men, feeling their own ignorance and helplessness, their want of being directed by some wisdom superior to their own, persuaded themselves that their false deities

could afford the counsel and assistance they so greatly needed. Hence arose the belief in Oracles, which so generally prevailed in the heathen world; (an Oracle is something delivered by the Divine wisdom;) and thus the simple religion of the Patriarchs was corrupted and degraded by little and little, till the worship of the One True God was forgotten, or neglected, for the extravagant inventions of men.

Superstition was formed into a system in Egypt, before the period of history begins. Vast temples were built in that country: of their magnificence you may form some idea, from the representations you have seen of their massy columns, richly adorned with hieroglyphics*, or symbolical figures, under which, the ancient Egyptians concealed the secrets of their religion from the eyes of the vulgar. It was only to their kings and priests, and those who were to be their successors, that the meaning of these symbols

* See the plates of Denon.

was fully explained *. The nobles of Egypt were also priests, and they guided the belief of the ignorant multitude as they pleased. They pretended to possess the gift of prophecy, which proved a powerful means of increasing their authority †.

In those barbarous ages it was very common for the Phœnicians, (who were the first merchants,) to steal and carry off women. The master of a Phœnician vessel, accordingly, seized a female attendant of the temple of Jupiter at Thebes, a city on the banks of the Nile, and carrying her away with him, he sold her in Thesprotia, a mountainous tract on the coast of Epirus.

Thus unhappily reduced to slavery among barbarians, this poor woman soon became sensible of the superiority which her education in a more civilized country gave her over her new masters. She recollected that in Egypt the superior knowledge of the priests gave them a wonderful ascendancy

* Chambers, Art. Hieroglyphic.

† Mitford, vol. i. p. 212.

over the minds of the people; and she resolved to try whether she could not mend her own condition, by practising on the ignorant Thesprotians, the arts which she had learned from the Egyptian priests. Accordingly, she gave out that she possessed all the powers of prophecy to which those priests pretended: she declared that she could foretell future events, and discover present secrets. Then taking her station under the shade of a spreading oak, she delivered answers, in the name of the god Jupiter, to the crowds who came to consult her. Her reputation as a prophetess soon spread over the country, and extended as far as the Thesprotians had any communication. These circumstances happened in the neighbourhood of Dodona, a town of Thesprotia. The priests of Dodona saw that this was a good opportunity of increasing their power; and, agreeably to the genius of the age, they turned the story of the Egyptian captive into a fable. A black pigeon, they said, flew from Thebes in Egypt to Dodona, and perching upon an oak, proclaimed with human

voice, that an Oracle of Jupiter should be established there. The Dodonæans, concluding that a deity spoke through the agency of the pigeon, obeyed the command, and thus the Oracle was established. This appears a very extravagant fable, but it may easily be explained. The Egyptian, when she first arrived at Dodona, speaking a foreign language, the Dodonæans could not understand her, and they said she spoke like a pigeon: afterwards, when she had learned the Grecian speech and accent, they said that the pigeon, who from her dark complexion was called the black pigeon, now spoke with a human voice. A temple for the deity, and habitations for his ministers, were built; and thus arose the Oracle of Jupiter at Dodona, the very place, where in earlier times, before the religion of tradition was so far corrupted by the inventions of the poets, sacrifices were offered only to the NAMELESS GOD *.

We are told by historians, that, before the

* Mitford, vol. i. p. 212—214.

time of Hesiod and Homer, the religion of the Pelasgians, who were the ancient inhabitants of Greece, approached much nearer to original purity. Many of the Greek philosophers knew this, though the ignorant multitude believed the wild fictions of the poets. Aristotle, the preceptor of Alexander the Great, expressed his opinion on this subject very clearly. "It is a tradition," says he, "received from of old among all men, that God is the creator and preserver of all things; and that nothing in nature is sufficient to its own existence, without his superintending protection. Hence some of the ancients held, (or believed,) that all things are full of gods.—GOD being ONE, has thus received many names, according to the variety of effects of which he is the cause*." Philosophers might feel and understand these distinctions, but the common people sunk into the most abject superstition.

An extensive grove of oaks surrounded the

* Mitford, vol. i. p. 109.

temple of Jupiter. It was pretended that these trees were endowed with the gift of prophecy. The priests artfully concealing themselves in the hollows, or among the branches of the trees, and speaking when the people did not know that they were there, was perhaps the origin of this fable *.

Achilles had probably been taught by the wise Chiron, to reverence that Supreme and Nameless Being who was adored by their Pelasgian ancestors. When Achilles was going to send his friend Patroclus to fight with Hector, Homer represents him as offering up an earnest prayer for the success of his friend, and for his safe return. It is curious to observe how the thoughts of Achilles, which at first rise in solemn appeal to the God of his fathers, at once descend to the idle superstitions of his own time: if, indeed, Homer has not taken the liberty of putting his own fables into the mouth of the pupil of Chiron. Achilles is represented as standing for a short time, with his eyes fixed

* Lempriere.

on Heaven; he then pours out some wine,
as a sacrifice to the Deity, whora he thus
addresses:

"Oh, thou Supreme! high thron'd all height above!
Oh, great Pelasgic, Dodonæan Jove!
Who, midst surrounding frosts and vapours chill,
Presid'st on bleak Dodona's vocal hill;
(Whose groves the Selli, race austere! surround,
Their feet unwash'd, their slumbers on the ground;
Who hear from rustling oaks, thy dark decrees,
And catch the fates, low whisper'd, in the breeze;)
Hear, as of old!—Thou gav'st, at Thetis' prayer,
Glory to me, and to the Greeks despair.
Lo! to the dangers of the fighting field,
The best, the dearest of my friends I yield;
Though still determin'd, to my ships confin'd,
Patroclus gone, I stay but half behind.
Oh! be his guard thy providential care,
Confirm his heart, and string his arm to war;
Press'd by his single force, let Hector see
His fame in arms not owing all to me.
But when the fleets are sav'd from foes and fire,
Let him with conquest and renown retire;
Preserve his arms, preserve his social train,
And safe return him to these eyes again *!"

The prayer of Thetis, here alluded to by

* Iliad. b. 16.

Achilles, is one of many instances which prove that the Greeks ascribed the passions, and even the vices of men, to their false gods. They appear to have had no conception of a pure and holy Being; at least, this was evidently the case in Homer's time. Thetis was angry with the Greeks, because their general, Agamemnon, had insulted her son; and, in *revenge*, she entreated Jupiter to humble the Greeks, till they should heap honours on her offended Achilles.

The Oracle of Dodona was the most ancient Oracle of Greece*; that of Delphi was the most famous. We will now relate some particulars respecting its origin.

In consequence, probably, of the success of Dodona, Oracles were attempted in many places. Many of them succeeded for a time, and then lost their reputation; but that of Delphi long retained its celebrity. It would, doubtless, be impossible to find any account of this Oracle free from fable: the following is, perhaps, as probable as most.

* Lemprière.

On the southern side of Parnassus, and at no great distance from the sea-port towns of Crissa and Cyrrha, the mountain-crags form a natural amphitheatre, but the ascent to this lonely spot is steep and difficult. The goats of ancient days, like those of our own times, were fond of climbing; and some of them happening to stray among these crags, were observed by the goat-herd who attended them, to be seized with extraordinary convulsions. The goats were, at the time this event took place, browsing on the brink of a chasm, in a deep cavern near the centre of the amphitheatre. Surprised at the sudden illness of his goats, he endeavoured to look into the chasm, and became himself agitated like one frantic. When this wonderful story was told in the neighbourhood, the ignorant people ascribed these strange circumstances to the power of some deity residing in the place. Frenzy of every kind was, by the Greeks, believed to be the effect of divine inspiration; and the incoherent speeches of madmen were regarded as prophecies. The solitary spot, to which only herdmen and

their goats had been accustomed to climb, excited general curiosity. It was found that the fissure in the cavern emitted a vapour that powerfully affected the brain of those who came within its influence; and when the superstitious inhabitants of the neighbouring country wished to obtain a knowledge of futurity, they toiled up the rugged sides of the mountain, and one of them inhaled the inspiring vapour until he became intoxicated; then, whatever expressions he happened to utter, while deprived of the use of his reason, passed for prophecy*.

Under these circumstances, it was rather dangerous to be the prophet; for many who attempted it, and stooped down to breathe the vapour, became so giddy, that they fell into the chasm and were lost. The neighbouring inhabitants therefore met, and consulted together on what was proper to be done; and they determined that one person should be appointed by public authority to fill the office of prophet, and that, to pre-

* Mitford, vol. i. p. 217.

vent a recurrence of these melancholy accidents, a frame should be placed over the chasm, through which the intoxicating vapour might be received with safety.

A female was chosen for the priestess of the Oracle: she was called the Pythoness; and a frame was prepared, resting on three feet, which for that reason had the name of *tripod*. To obtain the inspiration, which, it was supposed, not only enabled, but compelled her to reveal the will of the Deity, the Pythoness was placed upon the tripod. But this was not a desirable honour: the poor creature suffered real convulsions; and, having experienced such terrible consequences, she was unwilling to expose herself to a repetition of the same distress. Force was, therefore, often necessary to lead her to the tripod, and to hold her upon it till her frenzy rose to such a height as the attendant priests judged sufficient for the occasion*.

As the fame of the Oracle increased, the concourse of strangers increased also; a

* Mitford, vol. i. p. 218—223.

magnificent temple was erected over the cavern, and buildings becoming necessary for the accommodation of the numerous visitants, the city of Delphi gradually rose in the mountain-amphitheatre we have mentioned. Once a month the Pythoness ascended the tripod; and those who wished to consult the Oracle, delivered in writing the questions which they desired should be answered. At the appointed time the Pythoness, crowned with laurel, passed through the temple to the cavern, attended by the priests and poets who entered the sanctuary with her. Aware of the sufferings to which she was going to be exposed, she is described as appearing exceedingly dejected, and suffering herself to be led like a victim to the altar. She chewed the leaves of laurel, and as she passed the sacred fire which burned in the temple, she threw into it some of the leaves mixed with barley meal*. The laurel was esteemed sacred to Apollo; and, perhaps for this reason, branches of that tree were placed

* See the Frontispiece.

around the fissure through which the intoxicating vapour ascended. The tripod was placed beneath the branches, which answered the double purpose of confining the vapour round the unhappy Pythoness, and defending the attendant priests from its prejudicial influence*.

These unfeeling men sometimes saw their unhappy victim expire immediately after quitting the tripod, or even while she yet remained upon it. The broken accents which the poor creature uttered in her agony, were collected and arranged into verses by the priests, and delivered to those who came to consult the Oracle, as the answer of the god. The time when the Oracle could be consulted, depended on the pleasure of the priests, who either refused to give an answer, or worded it in an evasive manner, as they judged most for the credit of the Oracle†; often deceiving the expectation of those who consulted it, or betraying them to their ruin. Thus, Croesus, king of Lydia, engaged in a war

* Anacharsis, tom. iii. p. 41—62—65. † Mitford. ib.

with Cyrus, on the faith of two answers from the Oracle of Delphi. One of these answers told him, to believe himself in danger when a mule should reign over the Medes. The other, that when he should pass the river Halys, to make war on the Medes, he would destroy a great empire. From the first of these answers, Cræsus concluded that he was quite safe, since it was impossible for a mule to be king of Media. From the second he inferred, that he should destroy the empire of the Medes. When Cræsus saw all his hopes disappointed, and himself in the power of Cyrus, he sent, with the permission of the conqueror, messengers to Delphi, whom he commissioned to carry a present to the god, of chains of gold, and to reproach him in the name of Cræsus, because, notwithstanding the magnificent presents with which he had enriched his temple, he had so unworthily deceived him by his Oracles.

The cunning priests were at no loss for an excuse: they replied, that Cyrus was the mule of which the Oracle had spoken, because he had a Persian for his father, and a

Mede for his mother. And with regard to the empire which Croesus should destroy, they said that the Oracle did not intend that of the Medes, but his own*.

Many other Oracles, besides those of Dodona and Delphi, were established in different places, and supported their credit for a time: by degrees they lost their reputation; and, soon after the birth of our Saviour, they entirely ceased†. When possessed of the greatest influence, their pretended prophecies related solely to the good or bad fortune of men in this uncertain world. It was very natural for the heathens to feel an anxious desire of knowing what was about to happen; for *they* had not the consoling assurance of living continually under the guardian care of a wise and merciful Providence, which overrules every event, and makes even pain and sorrow conducive to our final happiness.

“But *now* the sacred Oracles we hear,

That point the path to realms of endless day;
That bid our hearts nor death nor anguish fear,
This, future transport, that to life the way.

* Rollin, Hist. Anc. tom. ii. p. 155. † Rees, Art. Oracle.

- “ Then let us timely for our flight prepare,
And form the soul for her divine abode ;
Obey the call, and trust the leader's care
To bring us safe, through virtue's paths, to God.
- “ Let no fond love for earth exact a sigh ;
No doubts divert our steady steps aside ;
Nor let us long to live, nor dread to die ;
Heaven is our hope, and Providence our guide *.”

* Jago. The Swallows.

LYCURGUS.

Some sterner virtues o'er the mountain's breast
May sit like falcons cowering on the nest;
But all the gentler morals, such as play
Thro' life's more cultur'd walks, and charm the way;
These, far dispers'd, on timorous pinions fly,
To sport and flutter in a kinder sky.

GOLDSMITH.

IN the map of ancient Greece, you will perceive that the peninsula now called the Morea, was formerly known by the name of Peloponnesus. In the south-eastern part of that peninsula, is situated a tract called Laconia, partly bounded by the sea, and separated from the neighbouring states of Messenia, Arcadia, and Argolis, by continued chains of mountains. Long branches extending from these chains intersect the whole country, which was described by an

ancient Greek historian, as "broken by defiles, surrounded by mountains, rugged, and difficult of access to an enemy." Through the midst of Laconia, and nearly from north to south, flows the Eurotas. About the middle of its course, this river passes by five low hills, where detached fragments of brick walls are still visible, extending to the banks of the river. This is all that now remains of the famous city of Sparta, the ancient capital of Laconia.

On those hills formerly lived the five tribes, into which the citizens of Sparta were divided. Their town was never surrounded by walls. Their lawgiver, Lycurgus, judged such a precaution unnecessary; saying, "That city is well fortified, which has a wall of men instead of brick*." The shattered walls remaining on these hills, are therefore probably the ruins of houses. Close to the Eurotas is a level space of ground, where it is supposed that the Spartan youths distinguished themselves by manly exercises. To

* Plutarch, in Lycurgus.

the west rise the lofty summits of mount Taygetus, wild and bold, partially covered with pines; in some places deeply indented by the beds of torrents; in others, rising into pointed peaks, which, even in the middle of October, an English traveller describes as being covered with snow*.

This little account of the situation of the country, will enable the youthful reader to understand the poetical description of Laconia, with which our story begins. The poet then goes on to describe the character of the ancient Spartans. How they came to be possessed of that character, we shall find in becoming acquainted with the Story of Lycurgus.

“ Long passes, winding underneath the gloom
Of crags, and wood-rob’d mountains, cleft abrupt
In precipice, and torrents dashing white
Their wintry stream across the dang’rous path,
Mark the bleak bulwarks of Laconia’s land.
Through these defiles the march of hostile men
Ne’er pass’d unseen; upon a rocky height
Freedom kept guard, and when her trumpet blew
The loud alarum, all her warlike sons

* Haygarth’s *Greece. Notes.*

Clasp'd on their burnish'd helmets, pois'd their spears,
And mark'd the lightning of her eye, to guide
The storm of battle on the invading host.
Stern were her sons.—Upon Eurotas' bank
Where black Taygetus o'er cliff and peak
Waves his dark pines, and spreads his glist'ning snows,
On five low hills their city rose; no walls,
No ramparts clos'd it round; its battlements
And tow'rs of strength were men, high-minded men,
Who heard the cry of danger with more joy
Than softer natures listen to the voice
Of pleasure; who, with unremitting toil,
In chase, in battle, or athletic course,
To fierceness steel'd their native hardihood;
Who sunk in death as tranquil as in sleep,
And hemm'd by hostile myriads, never turn'd
To flight, but closer drew before their breasts
The massy buckler, firmer fix'd the foot,
Bit the writh'd lip, and where they struggled fell *.”

The city of these undaunted warriors was called Lacedæmon, or Sparta: it was founded at too remote a period for any certain account of its origin to have reached us. Tyndarus, the father of Castor and Pollux, (whom we have mentioned as two of the Argonauts,) was king of Sparta. The beau-

* Haygarth's Greece, p. 105.

tiful Helen was afterwards its queen, and the reputed cause of the Trojan war. When that war took place, has also been a matter of dispute, as the early history of Greece is too much involved in fable to enable us to speak with certainty of the time when the recorded events happened.

Among these uncertainties is the period when *Lycurgus* flourished; though it appears probable, that he lived about seven hundred years before the birth of our Saviour*. The exact time is of little consequence to us, for our business is with his character and actions.

Lycurgus, after the death of his brother *Polydectes*, might have been king of Sparta, had he pleased; but he showed a noble integrity, in preferring to that high office the infant son of his brother, who was born a little while after that brother's death. The new-born child was, in compliance with the orders of *Lycurgus*, carried to him while he was at supper with the principal magis-

* Priestley's Chart.

trates of Sparta. He received the infant in his arms, saying, "Spartans, see here your new-born king!" He then laid him on the chair of state, and observing the pleasure manifested by the company, he named him Charilaüs, or, the people's joy*. It was not, however, the accession of this baby monarch that filled the hearts of the Spartans with pleasure, but that cordial approbation which men naturally feel in witnessing an instance of virtuous self-denial. Lycurgus had, for some months, exercised the authority of a king, and his countrymen were struck with admiration at seeing so young a man willingly resign a title, which many in his situation would not have scrupled to retain, by setting aside the claim of a helpless infant. The esteem in which he was held, by all good men, was an immediate reward to Lycurgus for his virtuous conduct. He was desirous of using the influence which he had thus acquired, to reform the defects in the government of Sparta; but some ill-disposed

* Plutarch in Lycurgus; and Mitford, vol. i. p. 310.

persons raising a strong party against him, he found it vain to make any attempt of the kind, and being yet a very young man, he resolved to indulge his desire of improvement by visiting foreign countries, especially such as had made the greatest progress in knowledge and civilization. Leaving Sparta, Lycurgus passed into Crete, where he studied the laws of Minos*, so renowned all over Greece for his justice and moderation; which not only procured him general applause, but the titles of the favourite of the gods, the friend of Jupiter, the wise legislator. Not content even with these distinctions, the fabling poets pretended that, after his death, Minos was rewarded for his equity, with the office of supreme judge in the infernal regions. They represent the impartial Minos sitting amidst the shades, and holding a sceptre in his hand, while the dead are pleading their different causes before him†. In Crete, Lycurgus formed an intimacy with Thales, a poet of great abilities, whom he

* Mitford, vol. i. p. 311.

† Lemprière.

engaged so far in his design, as to persuade him to go and settle at Sparta, and, by poems suited to the purpose, endeavour to prepare the minds of the people for receiving those alterations in government and manners, which Lycurgus hoped he might one day have it in his power to propose to their consideration*.

From Crete, Lycurgus crossed over to Asia; desirous, it is said, of comparing the luxury of the Ionians with the simplicity and frugality of the Cretans, that he might be able to judge what effect the different manners of these people had on their character and government†. In Asia Minor, the poems of Homer were then popular, but in Greece only detached fragments were known. Lycurgus was very much pleased with these poems; not so much because they amused his fancy, as because he thought they might be useful to him in that great work to which he had devoted himself. He

* Mitford, *ibid.*

† Plutarch, in Lycurgus, vol. i. p. 126.

observed that much moral wisdom, and much of the knowledge that is necessary in governing a nation, were contained in these poems. He knew that sweet and noble verses possess a powerful charm, affecting the minds of all who listen to them; he therefore copied the poems of Homer, intending to take them home with him, should the day ever arrive when he might return to Sparta*. Lycurgus, a stranger, wandering from country to country, out of favour with the party who ruled affairs at home, formed, perhaps, the most extraordinary resolution that ever was made in such circumstances; for he resolved to change, not only the government of his native country, but the character, the manners, and the habits of the Lacedæmonians. His success is a striking proof what surprising things may be done by a single man, if he has sufficient constancy of mind to apply all its powers to the furtherance of his designs, and sufficient

* Plutarch, *ibid.* p. 127.

prudence to wait for a favourable opportunity.

While the time and thoughts of Lycurgus were thus occupied, the disorder of public affairs at Sparta, increased to an excess which could no longer be endured with patience. That country had long been governed by two kings of equal authority, and the regal power, weakened by division, sunk into contempt; the laws were not put in force, and, in this extreme confusion, all ranks of people suffered. The rich were tyrannical, and oppressed the poor; the poor were idle and refractory. In this unhappy state of things, the name of Lycurgus was often mentioned. His approved integrity, his unshaken courage, his extensive genius, his popular manners, that power which above all others he possessed of commanding the minds of men, became the subjects of general conversation. At length both kings and people agreed to invite Lycurgus to return to his native country, and reform the disorders of the government. He joyfully received the summons, but resolved to

proceed with all possible prudence, in the important task assigned to him by his fellow-citizens*.

Minos had persuaded the Cretans that his laws were delivered to him from Jupiter. Lycurgus, who had seen the success of this artifice, resolved to obtain the sanction of Apollo, before he entered on his office of legislator†; for this purpose he went to Delphi, to consult the oracle. He found means to render the priests favourable to his designs, for he carried back that celebrated answer, in which the Pythoness declared, "that he was singularly favoured by the gods, himself more god than man; and that it should be given him to establish the most excellent of all systems of government‡.

Armed with this high authority, Lycurgus returned to Sparta, where he had already, by insensible degrees, prepared the minds of the people; for, while listening to the poems of Thales, they had been gradually

* Mitford, p. 311, &c. † Plutarch, p. 128, note.

‡ Mitford, p. 313.

imbibing sentiments favourable to the plans which Lycurgus had in contemplation. On his arrival, he proceeded in the most gentle and cautious manner. He began with assembling the principal citizens, as if he wished to receive the benefit of their advice on a plan of reformation; but he was careful, at this meeting, not to say one word respecting his own designs. He afterwards conversed privately and separately with his own particular friends, telling each of them more or less of his plan, as he found they were disposed to receive it. At last, when he saw that his party was sufficiently strong, he summoned an assembly of the people.

In Grecian towns there was an open space called the agora, which was used equally as a market, and as a place of public debate. Thither the multitude repaired, and thither also went the friends of Lycurgus in arms. This circumstance occasioned some alarm to the two kings, who were not in the secret; and the nephew of Lycurgus, the young Charilaüs, fled to a neighbouring temple for protection; but being informed that no

violence was intended, and being naturally of a complying temper, he returned to the agora, and joined his uncle's party. The other king, Archelaüs, had not, of himself, sufficient influence to offer any resistance, and Lycurgus proceeded without opposition. He immediately committed the most important duties of the government to a senate of twenty-eight persons, choosing those in whom he could most safely confide. The two kings were declared presidents of the senate, generals of the army, and high-priests of the nation. The senate was to prepare the laws, and propose them to the assembly of the people, who might declare, in a single word, whether they accepted or rejected any law; but were forbidden to speak, even to declare why they answered yes or no.

The people were also to choose the future senators; but their choice was confined to such persons as had passed their sixtieth year.

When these arrangements were made,

Lycurgus ventured upon a very bold measure. He saw that the poor were oppressed by the rich, and that the rich were in continual danger from the despair of the poor. In order to put an end to these evils, he persuaded the rich land-owners peaceably to part with their possessions; he then divided the whole country of Laconia into thirty-nine thousand equal shares, allotting to every family its separate portion. Thus was banished all distinction between man and man, except that which arose from the praise of virtuous, or the reproach of unworthy actions*.

The division of lands would not have produced equality among the Spartans, but for another regulation. Lycurgus forbade all use of gold and silver. He allowed his people to have some money for the convenience of exchange; but it was made of iron, and was so heavy and clumsy, in proportion to its value, that it would be very inconvenient to have much of it. For instance, as much iron money as would be

* Mitford, p. 313—316.

nearly equal to thirty-two guineas, would require a whole room to lay it up in*, while an English lady may put twice that sum into her purse. The Spartan money became a subject of ridicule in the other countries of Greece; and from that time foreign ships were but seldom seen in the ports of Lacedæmonia, and all the trades that encouraged luxury were effectually banished. This was the point which Lycurgus had in view: he wished to destroy commerce, because he considered it as the parent of luxury; he, however, permitted the Spartans to exchange some of the productions of the earth for useful foreign commodities, when their fields yielded more than they wanted for their own consumption†.

The next regulation was not carried into effect so quietly. Lycurgus forbade any man to live at home: strictly ordering that no one, not even the kings, should eat, except at the public tables, where the greatest frugality and moderation should be ob-

* Plutarch, p. 133.

† Mitford, p. 317.

served. None of his regulations gave so much offence as this. In an assembly of the people, so violent an outcry was raised against him, that he thought it prudent to retire to a neighbouring temple. A youth named Alcander, of one of the chief families of Sparta, with others, pursued him, and as Lycurgus turned, he struck him in the face with a stick, and put out one of his eyes. Notwithstanding the extreme pain he must have suffered, Lycurgus walked on to the temple; where, finding that the people were not so mad in their fury as to forget the respect with which it was the custom in those days to regard the buildings devoted to religious purposes, he turned and showed them his disfigured countenance, dropping with blood. The people becoming silent, Lycurgus then spoke to them with such moderation of temper, and such force of persuasion, that he changed their rage into pity and remorse, and they immediately delivered up Alcander to abide his judgment. Lycurgus knew how to take advantage from every circumstance. Instead of

condemning Alcander to punishment, he brought him by gentle arguments and mild behaviour, to condemn himself; and at last, from being a violent enemy, he became a zealous friend*. How few men, enduring the agony caused by the loss of an eye, would have had equal command of temper! But the great object which Lycurgus had in view, so completely occupied his mind, that neither the clamour of the populace, nor his own danger, nor the pain he was suffering, could move him from his purpose. What a pity, that a man capable of such heroic courage—of such noble disinterestedness, should not have had juster notions of what would constitute the real safety and happiness of the people for whose welfare he was so anxiously solicitous!

When Lycurgus had, by kindness and reason, overcome the violence of the clamour which had been raised against him, he proceeded with his work of reformation, and not only persisted in the measure he had

* Mitford, p. 318.

proposed just before the tumult, but went further, and commanded that no one should refuse to lend any article of his property, unless he was himself actually using it. He also permitted any one to take, even without asking, whatever he wanted of his neighbour's, on condition of replacing it undamaged.

When these extraordinary changes were effected, Lycurgus had but little to fear from opposition. His principal care was to provide against his countrymen returning to their old habits again. The surest means of securing a lasting adherence to his institutions, was to educate the children in such a manner as to ensure their obedience to the laws. He therefore resolved that parents should not have the management of their children. Soon after each infant was born, its father carried it to a place appointed for the purpose, where the poor little babe was examined by the elder men of the tribe: if it was strong and well-proportioned, they gave orders for its education; but if it was weakly and deformed, they directed it to be

thrown into a deep cavern near Mount Taygetus, concluding that its life would be of no advantage to itself or to its country*.

The cruel practice of exposing infants was not peculiar to Sparta. In all the Grecian republics, of which we have any information, the lives of new-born children were thought of very little consequence: it was generally left to the parents to rear or to abandon them, as they pleased. Lycurgus differed from the other Greeks only in not leaving this point to be decided by the parents†.

If, from its healthy appearance, the child was deemed worth preserving, it was delivered to nurses provided by the government, who were properly instructed in the business of rearing infants. As soon as the children were seven years old, Lycurgus ordered them to be enrolled in companies, where they were all kept under the same order and discipline, and had their exercises and sports in common. He who showed the

* Plutarch, p. 142.

† Mitford, p. 323.

most conduct and courage amongst them, was made captain of the company. The rest obeyed his orders, and bore, with patience, the punishments he inflicted; so that their whole education was a lesson of obedience. The old men were present at their diversions, and often incited them to dispute and quarrel, that they might observe the spirit of the boys, and whether they were likely to make courageous soldiers*.

The business of education, at Sparta, was not so much to teach a variety of things, as to form the character†. Of learning, the young Spartans had just what was absolutely necessary; all the rest of their education was calculated to make them subject to command, to endure labour, to fight and to conquer‡. The qualities which they most highly valued, were patience, courage, and a keen sensibility to applause and to shame. Education was to make the Spartan boys bold, watchful, skilful, and obedient sol-

* Plutarch, p. 142.

† Mitford, p. 325.

‡ Plutarch, p. 143.

diers*; for, unfortunately, Lycurgus, though he had himself experienced that the greatest difficulties may be surmounted, and the most bitter enemies subdued, by prudence, kindness, and reason, was so infatuated as to imagine that the Spartans could neither be prosperous nor happy, unless they became a nation of warriors. For this reason, he directed them to be brought up with the greatest hardiness and simplicity. They were to wear only one garment after they were twelve years old, and this was to serve them in winter as well as in summer. They were to sleep on no better bed than rushes, gathered by themselves. They were allowed the same plain food as the men, but in very small quantity, unless they could steal it. If they could rob a garden, or the kitchens and larders of the men, they were allowed to enjoy the plunder, as the reward of their boldness and skill, unless they were discovered making the attempt; in that case, they

* Mitford, p. 326.

were punished severely, not for theft, but for awkwardness, in allowing themselves to be surprised*.

Though this could not be called *thieving*, in the sense in which we use that word, it was a practice which must produce bad moral consequences, by teaching children that there is something clever in being cunning. In fact, the Spartan notions of honour were defective and inconsistent: they were strangers to that nobleness of mind which scorns base or unworthy actions. As a nation, they were selfish; and, on several occasions, they showed a mean jealousy of the prosperity of neighbouring states.

Education, among the Spartans, could be hardly said to end. When boys approached manhood, their discipline increased in strictness. Nor was there any remission, except while engaged in military service; then many indulgences were allowed them, so that the camp was a scene of ease and luxury, compared to the discipline of the city. There

* Mitford, p. 326.

they were obliged to engage in earnest conflict, with blows, amongst each other; to stand still, while they were cruelly beaten, without uttering the least expression of pain; to endure heat almost to suffocation; and to bear extreme cold, travelling all over the country barefoot, in the depth of winter. Even cleanliness of person was discouraged in the city; but in the camp, not only neatness was required, but even ornament was approved*. All these regulations had a natural tendency to make them fond of a military life. Hunting, as it cherished an active and daring temper, was an amusement greatly encouraged by Lycurgus. It is curious to observe, that in many things, which seem as if they could not be controlled by laws, this wonderful man contrived to govern the actions of his people. He forbade drunkenness, and the Lacedæmonians were sober. He bade them be merry and wise, and the Spartans were ever famous for mirth guided by discretion. He

* Mitford, p. 327.

ordered them to converse in a particular manner; and they so exactly obeyed him, that, while Sparta existed, its inhabitants were distinguished for that style of conversation, which even now is, from them, called Laconic.

To acquire this, Lycurgus directed that while the boys were at their meals, questions should be asked them, to which short and ready answers were required. To ask these questions, was both the amusement and the business of the old men; and great attention was paid by those who watched over education, (among whom were all the chief persons in the state,) both to the expression and the manner of these replies. The boys, accustomed to have their answers listened to, corrected, or applauded, by men for whom they had the greatest esteem, acquired a quickness and propriety in answering, with a manner of speaking at once graceful, respectful, and determined; while that strict obedience which was required of the young, that watchful eye which was kept over them by the aged, in whose hands all the autho-

rity of the laws was placed, produced that modesty in youth, and that reverence for age, for which Lacedæmon became so famous*.

Lycurgus having, with invincible courage and perseverance, executed the most extraordinary plan ever devised by man, waited awhile to see the new order of things settled; and having the satisfaction of seeing the whole concern proceed as he desired, he was anxious only to secure its duration. He therefore summoned an assembly of the people, and told them that what had been done was now proved by experience to be good; but, he added, that he had still one thing more to propose, which he would not venture to do without consulting the Oracle. For this purpose he would himself go to Delphi; but he must first receive an assurance that nothing should be altered till his return.

Immediately kings, senate, and people

* Mitford, p. 328—330.

united in desiring him to go, engaging, by a solemn oath, that nothing should be altered till his return. Lycurgus was received at Delphi as favourably as on his former visit. The Oracle declared, that "the constitution of Sparta, as it then stood, was excellent; and as long as it remained entire, would ensure happiness and glory to the state." The lawgiver sent this answer to Sparta, determined himself never to return.

He had now completed what he thought sufficient for his life; and some historians say, that thinking his death, by rendering his return impossible, might more firmly bind the Spartans to the observance of their oath, he put an end to his life by abstaining from food. Others assert, that he retired to Crete, where he lived to a good old age, and died in a natural way. They add, that his body was burned, and the ashes scattered in the sea, lest they should ever be carried to Sparta, and the Lacedæmonians suppose themselves freed from their solemn obligation to observe his laws*.

* Mitford p. 343—345.

In considering the institutions of Lycurgus, it is impossible not to be struck with the great *waste of power*. Possessing, as he did, the most astonishing influence over the actions, the manners, the very thoughts of his people, who, from the hour of their birth, were accustomed to obey every impulse of his will, he educated them for no useful purpose. Instead of making them free, their whole lives were past in the most cruel bondage to the spirit of ambition, and to false ideas of glory. Instead of making them independent, they were, in all the useful and necessary arts of life, as helpless as children; depending for even the coarse and scanty accommodations they were permitted to enjoy, on the labour of others. Besides this, they were doomed to ignorance; for as in the time of Lycurgus books were scarcely known, and the spirit of his laws forbade any alteration, when literature was improving and flourishing in the other Grecian states, Sparta was left behind *.

* Mitford, p. 325.

What then were the blessings enjoyed by this nation of warriors? They were cut off, by the nature of their institutions, from all the pleasures of domestic life. But, at least, were they not safe? They could carry desolation and misery into every surrounding country, when they pleased; and who would dare to attack *them*, trained as they were, from infancy, to all the hardships and stratagems of a military life? Alas! these high-minded warriors, these daring sons of liberty, had often cause to tremble in the presence of their slaves!

All the Grecian states allowed of domestic slavery. Some of these slaves were purchased foreigners, others were the descendants of subdued Greeks. The Spartan slaves were of the latter class. There are different accounts of the origin of these miserable men, who were distinguished from all other slaves by their name, as well as by the hardships of their lot. It is said that Helos, a town of Peloponnesus, having been conquered in ancient times by a Spartan king, the inhabitants were, according to the

custom of those barbarous ages, reduced to slavery: they were dispersed in such numbers throughout Laconia, that the name of Helot, in that country, had the same meaning as slave.

These Helots cultivated the ground, and exercised the few mechanical arts that were necessary, in a country from which wealth and luxury were entirely banished. Though the Spartans prided themselves on their attachment to liberty, they proved the most cruel and tyrannical of masters. Their treatment of the Helots was a disgrace to humanity: every possible method was taken to degrade them: even vice was commanded to them. They were compelled to drunkenness, in order to show the young Spartans to what a ridiculous and contemptible state men are reduced by that vice. Every Helot was watched by thousands of jealous masters; for, knowing how much their minds must be exasperated by the shameful treatment they experienced, the Lacedæmonians were continually apprehensive of their resentment. Could the people who lived in per-

petual fear, lest the slaves, whom they employed in every domestic office, should rise and revenge their cruel injuries, be a safe or a happy people? Of what use was their military spirit? Against private treachery, could it protect them a moment?

Notwithstanding the cruelties to which the Helots were subjected, their numbers increased so as to induce their apprehensive masters to adopt a precaution which never could have been used by a people possessing good or honourable feelings.

The most active and intelligent of the young Spartans were occasionally sent into the country, carrying provisions, and armed with a dagger. They dispersed, and mostly concealed themselves during the day; but when the darkness of night favoured their abominable design, they sallied forth, and murdered any Helots they might happen to meet: they also *selected* those who were the strongest men, or in whom any superiority of character had been observed.

It is worthy of remark, that even this shocking precaution did not answer the in-

tended purpose. Laconia was oftener in danger of being entirely conquered by these oppressed slaves, than even by its foreign enemies*.

Such was the happiness, and such the security, of a **MILITARY GOVERNMENT**.

* Mitford, p. 332—335.

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## THE TYRANTS.

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Dark spirits are abroad, and gentle worth  
Within the narrow house of death is laid,  
An early tenant.

JOANNA BAILLIE.

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WE are now going to speak of Athens, the capital of Attica, another of the Grecian states; and must therefore refer once more to our map, that we may have a correct idea of its situation. The Saronic gulf, now called the gulf of Egina, separates the promontory of Attica from the Peloponnesus, the isthmus of Corinth forming the bottom of the gulf. Soon after Cecrops, with his colony of Egyptians, landed in Attica, he found, near a convenient harbour, a plain watered by two little streams; between these streams, and near the spot where their waters unite, he observed a high and very steep rock,

which might easily be fortified as a citadel. This union of circumstances, a harbour, a river, and a high, steep rock, was what the ancient Greeks most desired for the situation of a city. Argos, Corinth, and many other Grecian towns, possessed these advantages\*. Here, then, Cecrops determined to lay the foundations of his intended city: the high, steep rock, became the Acropolis of Athens, and the little nameless streams were afterwards celebrated as the rivers Cephissus and Illyssus. Cecrops established his colony in the sixteenth century before the Christian era, and employed himself, during a reign of fifty years, in regulating the conduct, and polishing the manners of his subjects: he taught them to cultivate the olive, and to regard Minerva as the patroness of their city†.

About 900 years after the death of Cecrops, Solon the Athenian effected so great a change in the government of his country,

\* Mitford, vol. i. p. 53.    † Lemprière.

that, as Lycurgus was the legislator of Sparta, so Solon is regarded as the lawgiver of Athens. He was of a very different character from Lycurgus; for though he possessed great knowledge, he wanted that intrepidity of mind for which the Spartan was so remarkable. Solon did not attempt to reform the manners of his countrymen, but adapted his laws to their prevailing habits and passions\*. It appears that he despaired of effecting such a change as had been accomplished at Sparta; for when he was asked "whether he had provided the best of laws for the Athenians?" he answered, "The best they were capable of receiving†." Naturally of a mild and open temper, Solon encouraged the Athenians to converse freely respecting his institutions, saying, that he was very willing to alter any thing which could be proved capable of amendment. He brought infinite trouble on himself, by this ill-timed candour.

\* Tytler, *El. Gen. Hist.* vol. i. p. 53.

† Plutarch, in *Solon.* vol. i. p. 216.



The Athenians were a restless, lively, talkative people, and soon afforded an illustration of the saying of the wise man, that "Every fool will be meddling." They found so much fault with what had been done, that the legislator, being involved in endless perplexity, at length resolved to travel for ten years; first engaging the Athenians, by a solemn oath, to give the new laws a fair trial during his absence. He thought, that after the experience of ten years, whatever alterations were desirable, might be made with greater certainty\*.

When Solon returned from his travels, he found the Athenians divided into parties. Pisistratus, one of the principal citizens, who, to extraordinary abilities and a daring spirit, united the most engaging manners, had acquired uncommon influence over the people. This influence continuing to increase, and Solon being incapable, from the mildness of his character and his advanced age, of reconciling contending factions, Pisistratus be-

\* Mitford, ib. p. 450.

came master of the commonwealth; or, as it was then called, Tyrant of Athens. Solon, though he had strongly opposed the proceedings of Pisistratus, acted on his old principle, of yielding to that which he could not prevent, and lived on terms of friendship with the Tyrant, who treated him with the greatest respect, and gladly availed himself of his assistance in the government\*.

The word *tyrant*, among the Greeks, had a very different meaning from that which we affix to the term. By Tyrant, was then understood a citizen of a republic, who by any means acquired sovereignty over his fellow citizens. Many of the Grecian Tyrants were men of extraordinary virtue, who used their power in strict conformity to the laws, and studied the happiness and prosperity of the people which they governed. The violence of party-spirit among the Greeks was excessive. The leader of the most powerful faction was often raised to the dignity of Tyrant; and the accusations of

\* Ibid. p. 451—458.

his disappointed enemies, gave rise to the outcry against Tyrants. When men are, by any means, possessed of power, they are apt to grow too fond of it; and the desire of retaining their exalted station, often makes them practise unreasonable severity, and sometimes commit dreadful crimes. Hence arose the present meaning of the word Tyrant\*.

Pisistratus was a Tyrant in the good sense of the word. He changed nothing in the Athenian constitution, and paid the greatest respect to the laws. He was once accused of murder; but instead of availing himself of the impunity afforded by his high station, he modestly appeared before the court of Areopagus, to take his trial like a private citizen. The accusation was probably false, as it was not supported †; but the story itself is a striking proof, that an ancient Tyrant was a very different kind of person from a modern one.

The character of Pisistratus is very supe-

\* Mitford, ib. p. 453—458.      † Plutarch, ib. p. 236.

rior to any of which we have yet had occasion to speak. To the daring courage and intrepidity of Lycurgus, he united the gentler virtues of the venerable lawgiver of Athens: he was mild, patient, and forbearing. His kindness to the poor and distressed, was not an artifice employed for the attainment of power, but sincere and constant, distinguishing his conduct through life. He was also eminent for his love of learning and the elegant arts. Much is due to the man, who, in a rude and barbarous age, turns the thoughts of his countrymen from scenes of violence and contention, to the quiet pleasures of knowledge. Pisistratus is said to have founded the first public library in the world, and to have given the first example of that noble eloquence, for which, in later times, Athens became so famous. He is also said to have been the first who laid out a garden for public use. Though once expelled from his high station by the opposite faction, his restoration to power was not disgraced by any act of cruelty; and he continued to direct the government of Athens

with great wisdom, deserving and enjoying the esteem of his fellow-citizens till an advanced age, when he died in peace\*.

The influence which Pisistratus had enjoyed, descended to sons worthy of such a father. Hippias and Hipparchus directed the affairs of Athens for the advantage of the commonwealth; and imitated the example of their father, in avoiding severity to those of the opposite faction. The character of Hipparchus is described by Plato, as one of the most perfect in history. His virtues, abilities, and diligence, are said to have been such, that the period of his administration resembled the Golden Age: but all his virtues could not save him from the dagger of the assassin†.

Irritated by an affront, real or imaginary, received from Hipparchus in a religious procession‡, or from some other motive of private revenge, two Athenians, of middle rank, resolved to murder the sons of Pisistratus.

\* Mitford, *ib.* p. 462—465.      † Mitford, *ib.* p. 466.

‡ Rollin. *Hist. Anc.* tom. ii. p. 403.

They chose, for the time of executing this horrible design, the festival of Panathenæa, which was instituted in honour of Athena, or Minerva, the favourite goddess of the Athenians. As part of this ceremony consisted in a procession of armed citizens, they could then go armed without exciting suspicion. They engaged only a few persons in their plot, which appears to have been ill-contrived. Their first attempt was against Hippias, who was directing the ceremony in the Ceramicus, a public walk without the walls of the city. As the conspirators approached, they saw Hippias conversing, with his usual affability, with one of their own party; and fearing they were betrayed, they immediately resolved to go into the city, and kill Hipparchus before he should be prepared to resist them. This design they, unhappily, accomplished; but in the tumult which succeeded, one of the murderers was killed on the spot; and though his accomplice Aristogiton, escaped from the guard who surrounded Hipparchus, he was soon

seized by the people, who showed him very little mercy\*.

When, afterwards, the opposing faction gained the ascendancy, they represented this affair in the light that suited their own purpose. They rendered extraordinary honours to the two murderers, Harmodius and Aristogiton, as if they had delivered their country from the most galling yoke. Statues were erected to them†, while every effort was used to load the memory of Pisistratus and his sons with infamy. Thus was the mere revenge of a private quarrel, elevated to the dignity of a noble effort in favour of public liberty. The celebration of this murder by songs, was made a part of the ceremony of the great festival of Panathenæa. Even at private entertainments, it was customary to sing the song of Harmodius and Aristogiton. It was forbidden, by a particular law, to give their names to slaves. Funeral ceremonies were appointed, at stated times, in honour of their memory; and the ruling faction did

\* Mitford, *ib.* p. 468. † Rollin's *Hist. Anc.* *ib.* p. 44

not scruple to promise, that similar honours should in future be the reward of what they were pleased to call suffering in the cause of freedom\*.

But the triumph of party spirit is short. After a little time, the impartial voice of history bestows praise and censure on juster principles. About a hundred years after this event, we find the Athenian historian† saying of the Pisistratidæ, "Those Tyrants singularly cultivated wisdom and virtue." After noticing this honourable testimony to the worth of Pisistratus and his sons, it is with regret we observe a poet of our own country applauding a murder instigated by revenge—

"What new Alcæus, fancy blest,  
Shall sing the sword in myrtles drest,  
At Wisdom's shrine awhile its flame concealing,  
(What place so fit to seal a deed renown'd ?)  
Till she her brightest lightnings round revealing,  
It leap'd in glory forth and dealt her prompted wound‡!"

These lines allude to the myrtle gar-

\* Mitford, vol. ii. p. 108.

† Thucydides, see Mitford, vol. i. p. 468.

‡ Collins, see Ode to Liberty.



lands which were carried by those who assisted at the sacrifice. This custom gave the assassins an opportunity of carrying their swords unsheathed in their hands, ready to take advantage of the first favourable moment. When they assaulted Hipparchus, it is said, they hastily drew their swords out of the myrtle boughs, and fell furiously upon him. This is described with great spirit, in that celebrated song which used to be so constantly sung at the Athenian entertainments, that if any one said of another, "He shall never sing Harmodius with me," it was as much at saying, he shall never be my guest. The Athenians held a branch of myrtle in their hands while they were singing.

## THE SONG OF HARMODIUS.

"He is not dead, our best lov'd  
Harmodius is not lost,  
But with Troy's conquerors remov'd  
To some more happy coast.

Bind then the myrtle's mystic bough,  
And wave your swords around,  
For so they struck the tyrant low,  
And so their swords were bound.

Perpetual objects of our love  
The patriot pair shall be,  
Who, in Minerva's sacred grove,  
Struck and set Athens free\*!"

The best and wisest of men ought not to feel any reliance on their own virtue, nor to value themselves for being better than others: perhaps, if they were placed in trying situations, they might, themselves, be guilty of the very faults which they so greatly condemn. Hear what happened to Hippias.

Anger, at so atrocious a deed as the murder of his excellent brother, took full possession of his mind. Uncertain of what might be his own fate, Hippias had immediate recourse to severity, and many Athenians were put to death. Once guilty of cruelty and oppression, he felt that he could no longer depend on the love of his countrymen, either to secure his power or his personal safety. Hippias, therefore, endeavoured to strengthen

\* Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, translated by Gregory, vol. i. pp. 24—26. (This translation of the song of Harmodius is by Cumberland.)

himself by foreign alliance; and he gave his only daughter in marriage to the son of the Tyrant of Lampsacus, a city of Asia Minor. It appears, by the epitaph on the tomb of this lady, that she possessed the amiable character of her family, and that the word Tyrant was not then a term of reproach: "This dust covers Archedice, the daughter of Hippias, in his time the first of the Greeks. Daughter, sister, wife, and mother of Tyrants, her mind was never elated to arrogance\*."

When Hippias became unjust, his prosperity soon forsook him. Exasperated by his severities, numbers of the Athenians joined themselves to the opposite faction, who were watching for an opportunity of obtaining the direction of affairs. After a period of great confusion, Hippias was banished from his country. Passing into Asia, he found that support from Artaphernes, the Persian governor of Sardis, which the rank

\* Mitford, vol. i. p. 470.

and character of his family might be expected to claim. The Athenians, alarmed at the favourable reception he met with, sent to request that Artaphernes would not countenance their banished citizens. The Persian prince replied, that, "if the Athenians would be safe, they must receive Hippias\*."

The answer of Artaphernes might be regarded as an unjust interference with the government of the Athenians, if that people had not previously acknowledged the Persian authority. During the troubles that followed the banishment of Hippias, Cleomenes, king of Sparta, went to Athens, with some of his hardy soldiers, resolved to change the government, so as to make Athens dependant on Sparta. He even banished seven hundred Athenian families; and though he was obliged to retire from the city soon afterwards, he was known to be determined on revenge. In this critical situation of affairs, the Athenians sent ambassadors to Artaphernes at Sardis; and their eager de-

\* Mitford, vol. ii. p. 62.

sire to obtain the protection of the Persian monarch, induced them to acknowledge subjection to king Darius. Therefore, Artaphernes, who governed that part of the Persian empire which was nearest to Greece, did no more than might have been expected from him, after Hippias had gained his friendship\*.

The return of the ambassadors with this answer, put Athens into a ferment. In this moment of irritation, the Greeks settled in that part of Asia called Ionia, which borders on the Archipelago, requested the Athenians to assist them in throwing off the authority of Persia. Anger is always a bad counselor. The provoked Athenians rashly and foolishly granted twenty ships to the Ionians. This fleet was the beginning of evil to the Greeks and the Persians†.

If kindness to the Ionians had been the only motive of the Athenians, they would probably have endeavoured to reconcile them to the Persian government, which was mild

\* Ib. vol. i. p. 475, &c.      † Mitford, vol. ii. p. 62.

and liberal\*, instead of incurring the danger of a war, which could have no rational prospect of being successful, and was excited by the restless ambition of a few powerful men. But the truth was, that the Athenians engaged in this enterprise to gratify their own pride, which had been severely mortified by the message of Artaphernes.

In this expedition, the Athenians, in conjunction with five ships from Eretria, in Eubœa, burned the rich city of Sardis; thus, by their own aggression, drawing upon themselves the vengeance of Persia. Sardis is not a maritime city. It is situated in Lydia, on the river Pactolus. The Athenians had the boldness to land at Miletus, (the city which had requested their assistance,) and march sixty miles up the country, to Sardis. Most of the houses of that wealthy capital were merely frames of timber, with pannels of reeds for walls, and all the roofs were thatched. They were built in this manner, on account of the frequent earthquakes to

\* Ibid. p. 77.

which that country is subject. The flames spread rapidly among houses of such a construction; and the inhabitants preparing to attack the Greeks, they were compelled to make a hasty retreat. Troops assembled from all parts, and the Persians, attacking the invaders under the walls of Ephesus, completely defeated them. The Athenians, after this misfortune, recalled their ships, and would take no more part in the war\*."

After having thus rashly provoked the resentment of a powerful monarch, it was incumbent on the Greeks to be united among themselves; but the inhabitants of that unhappy country were neither to be influenced by justice, nor restrained by prudence. Each little state exhausted itself by enmity to its neighbours. Though all must have foreseen the terrible storm which was ready to burst upon them, the Thessalians, who might have guarded the northern frontier, were engaged by their own quarrels with the

\* Mitford, *ib.* pp. 63—64.

Phocians, who lived in the centre of Greece. The Bœotians, tired of contention, were willing to submit to Persia. Athens was at open war with Ægina, (an island in the Saronic gulf,) and still nourished bitter hatred against Lacædemon; while within Peloponnesus, not only was Laconia at enmity with Argolis, but the two Spartan kings, Demaratus and Cleomenes, were at variance with each other\*.

The following spring, Darius sent heralds into Greece, requiring that every city should acknowledge subjection to Persia, by the delivery of earth and water. Many towns on the continent obeyed, and most of the islands. At Athens, and at Sparta, this haughty demand excited the most vehement indignation. We cannot blame them for refusing to give up their independence; but they disgraced themselves by a shameful violation of those great principles of justice, which are called the law of nations. By this law, the persons of heralds and ambassadors

\* Ib. p. 81—83.



are esteemed sacred; nor is even a state of open war considered as a reason for treating them with indignity. At Athens and Sparta, the people were too angry to listen to any thing but their own passions. At one place the Persian heralds were, with scoffing and ignominy, thrown into a pit, at the other into a well, and told thence to take their earth and water\*.

The conquest of Greece was at length determined on by the king of Persia. A sufficient number of ships was collected, the whole army embarked, and coasted along Asia Minor as far as Samos, where the Persians were joined by the Ionians and Æolians. The generals then directed their course across the Archipelago, to Naxos. The inhabitants abandoned their city and fled to the mountains. The Persians burned the town, and then proceeded to the neighbouring islands, every where receiving submission, and taking the children of the principal families as hostages. No opposition

\* Mitford, *ib.* p. 82.

was made till they reached Carystus, in Eubœa. The Carystians declared that they would neither join in hostility against their countrymen, nor give hostages; but the superior force of the Persians soon compelled them to submission\*.

The storm now approached Eretria, the city which had shared with Athens in the destruction of Sardis. The punishment of that outrage was one of the declared objects of the Persian armament. Little hope remained, but that this punishment would be terrible. Distracted by fear and dissension, they could not agree upon any consistent plan of action. A deputation was sent to implore help from the Athenians. The Athenians directed four thousand of their citizens, who had established a colony in Eubœa, to assist in the defence of Eretria; but the colonists, alarmed for themselves, crossed over into Attica, and left the Eretrians to their fate. Some of the inhabitants of that unfortunate town were for flying to

\* Ib. p. 91.

the mountains; others, for delivering up the city to the enemy. At length they resolved to defend the place, and resisted the attacks of the Persians for six days: on the seventh, Eretria was betrayed by two of its principal citizens. The temples were plundered and burnt, the inhabitants condemned to slavery\*.

After a few days' rest, the Persian generals crossed into Attica. What a terrible passion is ambition! how does it harden and corrupt the heart that yields to its influence! Hippias, though now advanced in age, twenty years having passed away since he was driven from Athens, was the guide and counsellor of the Persians. By his advice they landed on the eastern coast of Attica, near Marathon. They had then a double advantage, being in a plain where the Persian cavalry might have room to act, and the way to Athens was less steep and difficult, than any other across the

\* Mitford, p. 91—93.

heights which at some distance surround that city\*.

The Persians landed their whole force without molestation, and were already in possession of the plain of Marathon, when the Athenian army appeared on the hills above. Miltiades, who commanded, issued a sudden order to run down the hill, and engage at once in close fight. The Persians, when they saw the Athenians rushing down the hill, felt inclined to ridicule so mad an onset; but they were unable to recover the effect of the shock, and after sustaining the conflict for a long time, they were defeated†. The ambitious projects of Hippias met with the same fate, as he perished in this memorable battle‡. The Persians, intending to proceed to Athens, returned to their ships, and doubled the southern point of Attica, which is called Cape Sunium; but when they arrived at the port of Phalerus, they found that the active Miltiades had crossed the

\* Mitford, *ib.* p. 99. † *Ib.* p. 101.

‡ Rollin, *Hist. Anc.* tom. iii. p. 113.

mountains, and was encamped on the hill of Cynosarges, which overlooks that harbour. The sight of this daring general, on the top of a hill with his army, cooled their courage, for they did not attempt to land, and sailed away for Asia\*.

The fate of the enslaved Eretrians was milder than might have been expected: they were carried into Persia, and the humane Darius settled them on an estate of his own, where their descendants lived for centuries†. But though he was superior to the poor revenge of ill-treating his unfortunate captives, yet he was certainly very indignant when he heard that his large army had been defeated by so inconsiderable a force. But it was the character of Darius not to be easily discouraged: the powers of his mind seemed to increase with the necessity for exerting them. He resolved that he would yet punish the aggressions of the Greeks, and determined to command, in person, the powerful army which he destined for this purpose; but

\* Mitford, *ib.* p. 104.

† Mitford, *ib.* p. 104.

from the execution of his project he was prevented by death\*.

That a king possessed of absolute power, should, in a moment of disappointment and irritation, treat his vanquished enemies with such clemency, excites our surprise, and we naturally ask how he came to be so very superior to the Greeks? To this history replies, that in the time of Darius, the wise institutions of the ancient Persians still subsisted, and their powerful empire had made far greater progress in civilization than the little states of Greece. The kings of Persia were also in the practice of administering justice themselves: to enable them to do this properly, great care was taken of their education; and they were instructed in the principles of justice, as children are taught the various branches of useful learning†. Our young readers may recollect an instance of this, in the story of Cyrus, who was punished by his master, for deciding unjustly in the affair of the two coats‡.

\* Rollin, tom. iii. p. 124.      † Ib. tom. ii. p. 247.

‡ Sandford and Merton. vol. i. p. 96..

The Persian kings watched with the greatest care over those who were in the station of judges: we even read of a judge being executed by order of Cambyses, because he had suffered himself to be influenced by presents. Darius once condemned a judge to death for neglect of his duty; but being reminded of some important services which this unhappy man had rendered to his country, and to the royal family, Darius revoked his sentence, even at the moment it was going to be executed; acknowledging, that he had pronounced judgment with more haste than wisdom\*. A remarkable proof of his desire to administer justice with impartiality, occurs in the history of the Jews. When that people were engaged in building their temple, after the Babylonian captivity, the Samaritans, who were very jealous of the favour granted to them, applied to the Persian governor of the provinces of Syria and Palestine, complaining of the boldness

\* Rollin, ib. p. 246—249.

of the Jews, who, from their own authority, in defiance of the prohibitions that had been laid on the work, were rebuilding their temple. The governor did not venture to interfere, without examining the affair for himself: he went to Jerusalem, and after having observed the work, he believed that he ought not to act with violence or rudeness, and he inquired of the elders, Who had permitted them to undertake such a work? The Jews then produced the decree of Cyrus, and when the governor saw this, he would not of himself command anything in opposition to an edict of the founder of the Persian empire; but he wrote a faithful account of the matter to Darius, and desired to know his opinion.

The malicious Samaritans also wrote to Darius, telling him, that it was against his interest to suffer the proceedings of the Jews; for they were building their temple like a citadel, and besides this, were fortifying their city. They added, that Cambyses, the king of Persia, had forbidden the Jews to build their temple. When Darius had



read both these letters, he gave orders that a search should be made among the royal records. This was done accordingly, and a copy of the original edict was found written in a book, which was preserved at Ecbatana, a city of Media, where Cyrus was when he issued this decree. Darius greatly respected the memory of Cyrus, whose daughter Atossa he had lately married; and he wrote to the governor of Syria, informing him, that he had found a copy of that decree among the records of Cyrus, and that it was his desire for the Jews to enjoy all the privileges which that edict had granted them. When the governor understood the intentions of Darius, he resolved to follow his directions; he therefore assisted the elders of the Jews, and the work advanced so prosperously, that the temple was soon afterwards finished\*.

Educated with this strict sense of justice, it was natural for the Persians to have an abhorrence of lying, which was always con-

\* Rollin, tom. iii. p. 51; and Josephus, vol. ii. book ii. chap. 4.

sidered among them, as a mean and infamous vice\*. Ingratitude was also a crime which they thought deserving of the severest punishment†.

At this period the Jews were closely connected with the Persians, the sacred historians had therefore repeated occasion to speak of the Persian kings; and it is pleasing to observe that the Bible confirms the favourable view we have been taking of the character of Darius. It is supposed by some writers that he is that king Ahasuerus whose strong sensibility to the claims of justice and gratitude is described in the 6th chapter of the book of Esther; who amused his wakeful hours by listening to the public records, and with generous impatience hastened to repair the neglect with which the faithful services of Mordecai had been treated. He is also mentioned in the first book of Esdras, where he is called by his own name, Darius. Queen Vashti, whose place was supplied by the Jewess Esther, is

\* Rollin, tom. ii. p. 252.

† Ib. p. 95.

believed to be the same with Atossa, the daughter of the great Cyrus\*; but several successive princes having assumed the name of Darius, on their succession to the throne, these points are involved in considerable uncertainty.

\* Rollin, tom. iii. p. 53.



## LEONIDAS.

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Yon mound of earth, on which the wild flow'r waves,  
Covers a band of heroes who here fell  
In Freedom's phalanx — — — thus  
I tell thee how the warriors fought and died.

HAYGARTH.

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AFTER the death of Darius, a dispute arose respecting the succession. Darius had three sons before he was elected king of Persia; the eldest, whose name was Artabazanes, thought himself justly entitled to the crown. It was not till after he was king that Darius married Atossa; and Xerxes, who was her son, contended, that though Artabazanes was the eldest son of Darius, yet that he himself was the eldest son of *the king*, therefore, he said that the crown properly belonged to him; adding, that it was also more just for the crown of Cyrus to descend to his grandson, than to one who was only a

distant relation. When Darius died, Artabazanes happened to be absent. Xerxes immediately took possession of the royal dignity, and discharged the duties attached to the office of king; but when his elder brother returned, he laid aside his royal robes, went to meet him, and paid him every attention. When they have opposite interests, it is too common for brothers to quarrel; but not even for an empire did Artabazanes and Xerxes allow their mutual affection to be shaken. They agreed to refer the point in dispute to their uncle, Artabanes; and while they awaited his decision, they continued to live in uninterrupted harmony. When Artabanes declared it to be his opinion that Xerxes ought to reign, his elder brother immediately prostrated himself before him, acknowledged him as his sovereign, and placed him, with his own hands, on the throne.

Thus Artabazanes showed that there is a real nobleness of mind, superior to all the grandeur of royalty. He was not actuated by any sudden fit of generosity; for he

always remained sincerely attached to the interest of his brother, and finally lost his life while fighting in his cause\*. Perhaps it was happy for Artabazanes that he was not exposed to that great trial, the possession of absolute power. His character, at least all that we know of it, now claims our highest esteem; and he has left to distant ages, a noble and affecting example of brotherly love.

Xerxes employed the first year of his reign in carrying forward the designs of his father. One of his acts was confirming to the Jews all the privileges which the justice of Darius had restored to them. He afterwards turned his thoughts to the Grecian war.

A young and powerful monarch could hardly fail to meet with flatterers. We cannot, therefore, wonder, that Xerxes, descended as he was from a race of conquerors, should be ready to believe that he might equal them in military fame. His wise and good uncle, Artabanes, vainly endeavoured

\* Rollin, *ib.* p. 121—124.

to persuade him to give up the Grecian expedition; exhorting him not to be dazzled by the false splendour of military glory, nor by the magnificent array of his numerous army, concluding with these remarkable words: "As God alone is great, he is the enemy of pride. He delights to humble all that exalts itself; and the most numerous armies often fly before a handful of men, because he inspires these with courage, while he dispirits those with fear\*."

Youthful vanity was more inclined to listen to the voice of flattery, than to the sober counsels of age and experience. Xerxes resolved to punish the Greeks for the burning of Sardis, and to repair the disgrace of Marathon. He therefore collected a more numerous army than had ever been seen. Every sea-port, in the whole winding length of coast from Macedonia to the Lybian Syrtis, was ordered to prepare ships, and to furnish sailors†. At that period, the Persian empire extended eastward, as far

\* Rollin, p. 129, &c.

† Mitford, vol. ii. p. 114.

as the river Indus; and northward, nearly to the utmost limits of the Caspian sea\*.

Xerxes spent the winter at Sardis, and began his march towards the Hellespont early in the spring. It was difficult to procure a supply of water sufficient for so great a multitude. Several rivers which they passed, were found unequal to the demand. Among these was the celebrated stream of the Scamander, which, in its course across the plain of Troy, was exhausted. Seven days and nights were employed, without intermission, in crossing the Hellespont by two bridges of boats, which had been constructed for that purpose. The march then continued through the Thracian Chersonesus; the fleet, at the same time, proceeding along the coast, to the mouth of the river Hebrus, where Xerxes mustered his army, and reviewed all his forces, both of sea and land. It is said, that the Persian generals made ten thousand men stand as closely as possible in the form of a circle. A fence was then raised round them: they

\* See Wilkinson's Atlas Classica.



were dismissed, and the enclosure filled again, till the whole army had thus been counted by tens of thousands\*.

At length, the fleet entered the Thermaic gulf; and the army arriving soon after, encamped along the shore, from Therma to the river Haliacmon, near the borders of Thessaly†. Their station may be plainly seen in the map of Ancient Greece. Again the Persians advanced; and while the Greeks were disputing and hesitating over various plans of defence, the Thessalians, finding themselves left without support, submitted to Xerxes; and not only submitted, but engaged zealously in his cause.

The Grecian confederacy, which remained to resist the whole power of the Persian empire, consisted of a few little states. The number of free subjects in those states was inferior to that of the inhabitants of Yorkshire‡; and even these were, as we have related in the story of the Tyrants, at variance with each other.

\* Mitford, ib. 117, 118.

† Mitford, ib. 124.

‡ Ib. p. 141.

The Grecian council assembled at Corinth, now considered the southern boundary of Thessaly as their frontier; and they determined to defend the Pass of Thermopylæ, rendered so famous by the death of the brave Leonidas. At Thermopylæ, the ridge of Mount Cæta comes so close to the sea, that there is barely room for one carriage to pass. No situation could be more convenient for the Greeks to wait the approach of their formidable enemy; for the Maliac gulf afforded a secure station for a fleet, with a means of retreat through the channel between Eubœa and Greece; and while stationed there, the fleet might protect and assist the troops appointed to guard the pass\*. The Persian monarch commanded the country to the north of the mountains: the Greeks under Leonidas secured the straits of Thermopylæ.

Xerxes, who expected that the Greeks would retreat before his immense army, and leave him a free passage into Greece, is said to have waited four days in expectation of

\* Mitford, p. 142.

this event; which really would have taken place, had it not been for the unshaken courage of Leonidas. It is even asserted, that a herald was sent to the Spartan king, commanding him, in the name of Xerxes, to come and deliver up his arms. Leonidas returned a truly Laconic answer; for he simply said, "Come and take them\*."

It appears that the Spartans did not undertake the defence of Thermopylæ readily and cheerfully; on the contrary, they made many excuses: other states were equally backward. None, except the mountaineers of Arcadia, heartily interested themselves in the common cause†. The Athenians were engaged in manning their fleet, and contributed nothing to the land forces. Lacedæmon being the most powerful of the other states, the command of the allied Greeks naturally devolved upon one of the kings of Sparta. History does not inform us that the plan of defending Thermopylæ

\* Mitford, *ib.* p. 155, &c.

† *Ib.* p. 144.

He was, no doubt, also influenced by the recollection, that the laws of Sparta required her soldiers never to fly, however inferior in number to their enemies—never to surrender—never to quit the post assigned them; in a word, to conquer or to die\*. He well knew the glory which he should acquire among his fellow-citizens, by dying in the pass he had undertaken to defend; and the perpetual infamy which would be the portion of himself and his soldiers, should they abandon the post assigned them†. How barbarous were those institutions, which thus commanded the death of the bravest citizens! Educated under those laws, the Spartans at Thermopylæ could hardly have acted otherwise than they did. Death and glory, life and infamy, was the alternative presented to them. The epitaph which was afterwards placed on the tomb of Leonidas and his three hundred soldiers, proves that the Spartans considered his death as an act of obedience, and not as a voluntary sacrifice. It was written by the

\* Rollin, tom. ii. p. 363.

† Ib. p. 364.

poet Simonides, and is remarkable for its simplicity:—

“TRAVELLER, GO TELL TO LACEDÆMON THAT WE  
DIED HERE, IN OBEDIENCE TO HER SACRED LAWS\*.”

Leonidas being informed that the Persians who had passed the mountains under Hydarnes were advancing behind him, saw that it was impossible to avoid being surrounded; his object was no longer to guard the pass, but to choose a spot where his little band could make the greatest slaughter of the Persians. He therefore collected his men at a fortification which had been erected across the pass, and which was called the wall of Thermopylæ †.

The whole Persian army was under arms before sun-rise; the king himself attending, in solemn pomp, to wait the appearance of that glorious luminary above the horizon. To Xerxes on the shore of the Maliac gulf, the sun would probably appear to rise be-

\* Rollin, tom. iii. p. 163.      † Mitford, ib. p. 161.

hind the mountains of Eubœa. At this hour the Persians were accustomed to perform their devotions\*: not because, (as many have falsely imagined,) they worshipped the sun; for there was nothing by which the Persians were more honourably distinguished from the Greeks than by their religion. They paid divine honours only to the One Supreme Being; but fire, light, and the sun, were objects of their religious reverence, because they considered them as the purest symbols, and the noblest productions of the Divine Power†. It is, however, evident, that their notions of religion were confused and imperfect; nor is this to be wondered at, because, having never been favoured with an express revelation, they were left to the conclusions of their own reason, with no better assistance than the uncertain knowledge conveyed by tradition. The conquest of Babylon by the great Cyrus, happening at the time the Jews resided in a state of captivity, had, in-

† Ib. p. 32—34.

deed, afforded the Persians an opportunity of acquiring more correct ideas respecting the Supreme Being; the credit and authority enjoyed by the prophet Daniel being likely to make the religion he professed an object of attention. In fact, it appears from the 6th chapter of the book of Daniel, that when the enemies of that prophet extorted from the king a reluctant permission to inflict the cruel punishment they had devised, Darius had an imperfect conception of the almighty power of God, and that it might be exerted in behalf of his persecuted servant, or he would hardly have asked the anxious question: "*Is thy God, whom thou serveest continually, able to deliver thee from the lions?*" When the divine power had been miraculously displayed in the deliverance of the prophet, a clear conviction of its operation appears to have been established in the mind of the king: this is evident from the letter in which he commands his subjects to "*tremble and fear before the God of Daniel; for he is the living God. He delivereth and rescueth, and he worketh*

*signs and wonders in heaven and in earth, who hath delivered Daniel from the power of the lions."*

The deliverance of Daniel was a lesson of instruction, not only to the king but to the whole Persian nation. It happened about fifty years before the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, and doubtless it became also a lesson to future monarchs; because in the Persian registers, the remarkable events in the reigns of their different kings, were written with great exactness. These annals were carefully preserved, and often read by the kings and their ministers\*, as we have seen in the case of Mordecai. It should be observed, that he who is called in the book of Daniel, Darius the Median, is not the same person who was preserved by Mordecai. Darius the Median is called in profane history Cyaxares: he was the uncle of the great Cyrus, who founded the Persian empire†. The other Darius, the Ahasuerus

\* Rollin, tom. ii. p. 246.

† Ibid. p. 75.



of Esther, did not reign till sixteen years afterwards\*.

It is so useful to observe the connexion between sacred and profane history, that we trust this short digression, to which we have been led by the mistaken notion that the Persians worshipped the sun, will not be found uninteresting. We now return to Xerxes and his army, whom we left on the shores of the Maliaç gulf.

When the Persians had ended their devotions, the troops were dismissed to wait for orders. It was about the middle of the forenoon, when Xerxes supposed that Hydarnes had advanced nearly to the rear of Leonidas, that a chosen body was commanded to attack the Greeks in front. Leonidas now led on his little band to a desperate charge. Advancing before the wall, he attacked the Persians in the wider part of the valley, made great slaughter, and caused such confusion, that, for want of room, many of the Persians were forced into the sea, and

\* See Tytler's Chron. Tab.

many others expired from the pressure of their own people. Leonidas, fighting at the head of his troop, was very soon killed. The engagement, however, continued, and the Greeks had even some advantage, till Hydarnes came in sight behind them. They then retreated to the wall. The Thebans begged for mercy; but, while they were in the act of surrendering, many, through the great confusion which prevailed, were killed: the rest were made prisoners. The Thespians and Spartans gained a hillock, where they fought, surrounded by their enemies, till the last man was slain. There were, however, two Spartans who were accidentally absent at the time of the battle. Aristodemus, who was, with the permission of Leonidas, at Alpeni, for the recovery of his health; and Pantites, who had been sent on public business into Thessaly. It was reported at Sparta, that another person, who had also leave to stay at Alpeni on account of his health, had joined Leonidas on the day of battle, and fallen with his comrades; and that Pantites might have returned in

time from Thessaly, to have died with his king: both of them were, therefore, dishonoured. It is not the events which happen, but our own dispositions and characters that give them power to injure us. These two Spartans were both alike degraded as cowards. They had to look forward to a life of humiliation. Pantites, oppressed and disheartened by the gloomy prospect, strangled himself. Aristodemus, with noble fortitude, supported life; and taking advantage of future events, he found opportunity for distinguishing himself by such courageous exertions in the cause of his country, that his memory descended to posterity with honour\*.

\* Mitford, *ib.* p. 161—163.



## THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS.

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“ Deep were the groans of Xerxes, when he saw  
This havoc: for his seat, a lofty mound  
Commanding the wide sea, o'erlook'd the hosts.  
With rueful cries he rent his royal robes,  
And thro' his troops embattled on the shore  
Gave signal of retreat; then started wild,  
And fled disorder'd.

POTTER'S *ÆSCHYLUS*.

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THE Persians proceeded from Thermopylæ along the foot of Mount Cæta, the Thessalians directing their march. When they entered Phocis, they began to lay waste the country with fire and sword. This measure was instigated by the Thessalians, with whom, as we have read in the story of the Tyrants, the Phocians had been at variance. When the Persians reached the river Cephissus, the main body of the army marched

along its banks through Bœotia towards Athens. The selfish inhabitants of Peloponnesus resolved to abandon their countrymen to their fate, and to provide for their own safety by building a wall across the isthmus of Corinth; for they thought, that intrenched behind such a fortification, they could bid defiance to the invaders; not reflecting, that if the Athenian fleet were destroyed, the Persians might soon land in their peninsula. The Athenians were very indignant when they found that they were to be left alone, to sustain all the vengeance of the Persians\*; and perceiving the imminent danger to which they were exposed by the approach of the enemy, they sent messengers to Delphi to consult the Oracle, which returned the following answer: "The city will find safety only in wooden walls." This appeared a very strange assertion, and the Athenians did not know how to act. Some said that the citadel was intended, because

\* Mitford, *ib.* p. 176—181.

it had formerly been surrounded by wooden palisades; but Themistocles, who possessed great influence over his countrymen, interpreted the Oracle differently: he said that it was intended that the Athenians should quit the city, and seek protection in their fleet\*.

Themistocles had need of all his address, and all his eloquence, to persuade the people that the only safe course for them to pursue, would be to abandon the city; and embark in their ships. He represented that Athens did not consist in walls and houses, but in *citizens*; and that saving the inhabitants, was in fact preserving the city. Lastly, he sought to persuade them by the motive most likely to have influence with men in so unhappy a situation; he urged, even from the words of the Oracle, that it was the will of the gods for them to quit Athens for a time.

A decree was then passed, ordaining that Athens should be left under the protection

\* Rollin, tom. iii. p. 160.

of Minerva; that all who were capable of fighting, should embark in the ships; and that each Athenian should provide, to the best of his ability, for the safety of his wife, children, and slaves.

Most of the Athenians then removed their parents, wives, and children, to Træzene, a town on the opposite coast of Argolis, where they were received with a generous kindness, of which this period of Grecian history affords few examples. After the departure of those who were unable to defend themselves, the citizens prepared to quit their homes. The shore then presented an affecting and sorrowful scene. The general distress was increased by compassion for those who, from age or infirmity, had been incapable of accompanying the exiles to Træzene, and were now obliged to be left in the city. The tame domestic animals running down to the shore, expressed in lamentable howlings, their regret at being separated from the masters whom they loved. One of these, a dog belonging to Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, is said to have

leapt into the sea, and swam beside the ship till it reached Salamis, where he landed, quite spent with fatigue, and immediately expired\*.

When the Persians reached Athens, they met with no resistance till they arrived at the citadel, whither the few remaining inhabitants had retired. Some of them thought that the answer of the Oracle referred to the citadel, and that they should be safe within its enclosure. To this opinion they remained obstinately attached, and consequently they refused the terms of capitulation which were offered. They resisted the attacks of the besiegers for a longer time than might have been expected; but the place was at length taken by assault, and its unfortunate defenders were slain†. Athens shared the same fate as Sardis, both houses and temples being set on fire. Xerxes immediately despatched a messenger to Susa, to carry the news of his success to his good uncle Artabanus; and from the spoils of Athens, he

\* Rollin, *ib.* p. 169—172.    † Mitford. *ib.* p. 186.



at the same time sent him a great many pictures and statues: among them were those of Harmodius and Aristogiton. These statues were long afterwards restored by a king of Syria, who thought he could not make the Athenians a present that would be more agreeable to them\*.

Intelligence of the fate of Athens came to the fleet while the commanders were holding a council of war: it occasioned such alarm, that some of them were for flying immediately with their squadrons. Even those who yielded less to fear were of opinion, that it would be best to retreat without delay to the isthmus of Corinth. Night came on, and all was confusion. It was on this occasion that Themistocles gained so much honour, both for the wisdom of his advice, and the calmness of temper and presence of mind, by which he conquered the prejudices of Eurybiades†.

In consequence of the advice of Themis-

\* Rollin, ib. p. 173.      † Mitford, ib. 188.

toeles, the Grecian fleet determined to wait the arrival of the Persians in the straits of Salamis. Three days had brought the fleet of Xerxes to the port of Phalerus: it sailed from the road of Artemisium, on the northern shore of Eubœa, through the channel called the Euripus, which flows between that island and the continent of Greece\*. No sooner did this powerful fleet appear advancing from the south, while Xerxes himself was seen marching his army towards the shore, than the Greeks, alarmed at the prospect of contending with such a foe, began to forget the counsels of Themistocles; especially the Peloponnesians, who resumed their former plan of retiring towards the isthmus of Corinth. So much were they discouraged, that they resolved to sail that very night, and gave the necessary orders to the pilots. Themistocles, who dreaded the separation of the fleet, and was very sorry that the Greeks should give up the advantage of their situation in the straits of Salamis, con-

\* Ib. vol. ii. p. 189.

trived that Xerxes should be informed of this. He desired the person entrusted with this message to say, that the commander of the Athenians, wishing success to the king of Persia, was the first to inform him of the intended flight of the Greeks; and that he exhorted him not to suffer them to escape, but, while they were in this confusion, to attack them and destroy all their ships\*.

We must not suppose that the evils of war are confined to the destruction of men's lives in battle, or the miseries endured by the inhabitants of every country which has the misfortune to become the seat of war. Every person who makes choice of a military life, may expect to be placed in situations where he will meet with strong temptations to be guilty of deceit, of cruelty, and of every kind of wrong and outrage. It must be acknowledged that there is a difference, even while engaged in war, in the conduct of men. They still act, as far as circumstances will allow them to do so, in a manner consistent

\* Plutarch, in Themist.

with their respective characters. Themistocles was very clever in contriving means to gain the end he had in view; but he did not care, as he ought to have done, whether his means were just or honourable: he was anxious only that they might be successful. He was a great, but not a good man.

Xerxes received the information sent him, exactly as Themistocles desired, supposing it to proceed from friendship\*. That very night the Persian fleet changed its station, and formed a semicircle from the point of Salamis to the shore of Attica; while a squadron was sent to block the western passage, between that island and the coast of Megaris†.

There was at this time in the neighbouring island of Egina, an Athenian, named Aristides, who was as honourably distinguished for his inflexible justice and disinterested love of his country, as Themistocles was remarkable for ambition and the love of glory. Both had been frequently employed in the

\* Plutarch, *ib.*      † Mitford, vol. ii. p. 191.

public service, but the difference of their characters and principles often made them act in opposition to each other. As the conduct of Aristides was influenced by purer and nobler motives than that of Themistocles, so was his character very superior to that of his rival; and he enjoyed a degree of public estimation, which Themistocles, with all his talents, could never obtain. This esteem, and the reasons on which it was founded, appeared one day at the theatre in a very striking manner. The actor, while performing a part in one of the plays of Æschylus, repeated that verse which describes the character of Amphiaraus, "*He does not desire to seem an honest and virtuous man, but really to be so.*" As soon as these words were uttered, the whole audience, at once turning their eyes on Aristides, applied the passage to him\*.

Notwithstanding the high sense entertained of the merit of Aristides, the Athenians, with that inconstancy which was so

\* Rollin, tom. iii. p. 100—103.

striking a trait in their character, had, about three years before the battle of Salamis, condemned him to banishment. When he quitted Athens, it is said that he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and uttered a prayer very different from that of Achilles: "That the people of Athens might never see the day which should force them to remember Aristides."

That day, however, arrived. When Xerxes was advancing by long marches through Thessaly and Bœotia towards Attica, the Athenians remembered Aristides, and the injustice with which they had treated him. They dreaded his joining the Persians, and drawing over other Greeks to their interest. In order to prevent this, they passed a decree recalling *all* their banished citizens. This edict proved that they had esteemed, without fully comprehending, the character of Aristides. They were guilty of fresh injustice in supposing that their ingratitude had extinguished his patriotism, for he was at that very time privately using his influence to encourage the Greeks in the defence of their

liberty. After the decree was passed, he could act more openly; and hearing that Eurybiades, who commanded the Grecian fleet, had resolved to quit Salamis, against the advice of Themistocles, he sailed from Egina on the same night in which the Persian fleet, by changing its station, had blockaded that of the Greeks. At the imminent peril of his life, Aristides passed between the Persian ships, and making his way to the tent of Themistocles, desired to speak with him in private. "You and I, Themistocles," said he, "if we are wise, shall now bid adieu to our vain and childish disputes, and enter upon a nobler and more salutary contention, striving which of us shall contribute the most to the preservation of Greece; you in doing the duty of a general, and I in assisting you with my service and advice. I find that you alone have hit upon the best measures, in advising to come immediately to an engagement in the straits; and though the allies oppose your design, the enemy promote it; for the sea on all sides is covered with their ships, so that the Greeks, whether they will

or not, must come to action, and acquit themselves like men, their being no room left for flight."

Themistocles was, doubtless, astonished at the generosity and frankness with which Aristides thus offered to support, with all his influence, the measures of a man who had long been his rival and enemy; for we are apt to judge of the actions of other men by our own feelings, and Themistocles could not endure the superiority of another. He had shown this, when, after the battle of Marathon, every body was extolling the conduct of Miltiades. Themistocles then became pale, spiritless, and melancholy: tormented by envy, he could not rest, and appeared no longer at public entertainments. His friends inquiring the reason of the change, he replied, that "the trophies of Miltiades would not let him sleep\*." He now saw Aristides, though but just returned from banishment, exposing his life to promote the public good, though he knew that, by so

\* Rollin, *ibid.*



doing, he should increase the glory of a successful rival. It was a noble proof of the superiority of patriotism to ambition; and Themistocles, though incapable of such magnanimity, appears to have been struck by it. But, true to his character, (for the vain-glorious and ambitious are always selfish,) his reply shows that he regarded even the virtue he admired, and resolved to imitate, as the means of increasing his own reputation: his first object was to outshine his rival. "I could have wished, Aristides, that you had not been beforehand with me in this noble emulation; but I will endeavour to outdo this happy beginning of yours, by my future actions." After having said this, he informed Aristides of the artful message he had privately sent to Xerxes, and requested him to go and persuade Eurybiades that the safety of the Greeks depended on coming at once to an engagement. He wished Aristides to undertake this service, because he was sensible that *his* influence over the mind of the Grecian commander, was much

greater than his own. And why had Aristides this greater influence, but because his disinterestedness was so well known, that in any measure he proposed, he could not be suspected of seeking his own glory rather than the good of his country? In the council of war assembled on this occasion, Cleocritus, the Corinthian, said to Themistocles: "Your advice is not agreeable to Aristides, since he is here present and says nothing." "You are mistaken," said Aristides, "for I should not have been silent, had not the counsel of Themistocles been the most eligible; and now I hold my peace, not out of regard to the man, but because I approve his sentiments." The Grecian officers then determined to adopt the plan sanctioned by Aristides\*.

The shores of Attica, to a considerable distance, were covered with troops; and by day-break the whole Persian army was in motion, for the soldiers were urged by curiosity to take their stand on the neighbouring

\* Plutarch, in Aristides.

heights. The most commodious eminence was chosen for the monarch himself, who, surrounded by his guards, and attended by his splendid retinue, sat there to view the approaching conflict\*. At this moment of suspense and expectation, a shocking scene took place in the galley of Themistocles. He was offering sacrifices on the deck, when three beautiful youths, who had been taken captive, were brought to him. They were said to be the nephews of the Persian monarch. The soothsayer, who attended on the sacrifice, took Themistocles by the hand, ordering that the three youths should be sacrificed to Bacchus Omestis; for by this means the Greeks might be assured, not only of safety, but of victory.

Themistocles was astonished at the strangeness and cruelty of the order; for though, in some of the Grecian islands, human sacrifices were offered to Bacchus, they had not been practised among the Athenians. But the people, calling upon the god, (of

\* Mitford, *ib.* p. 192.

† Plutarch, *ib.* p. 283.

whom they must have had a most unworthy idea, to suppose his favour could be gained by such barbarity,) led the unfortunate captives to the altar, insisting upon their being offered up as the soothsayer had directed\*.

Among the ancients, no affair of consequence was undertaken without consulting the gods by sacrifices. Soothsayers or augurs, were persons who pretended to foretell future events, from examining the entrails of animals offered on such occasions; from the flight of birds; from eclipses, comets, thunder, unexpected accidents, and such a multitude of strange and foolish trifles, that if it were not for the clear evidence of history, we should not now believe that there ever was a time when people of common sense could allow themselves to be so grossly imposed upon, as was sometimes the case in these sacrifices. Julius Cæsar once offered two oxen together, each of which was declared by the augurs to have *no heart*. This was considered the most fatal and dreadful omen

\* Plutarch, *ib.* p. 283.

that could possibly happen\*; but it must have been a trick of the soothsayers, since no ox could live without a heart. Amongst a superstitious people, these men, at any time, had it in their power to stop the progress of the best-concerted enterprises, by declaring the omens to be unfavourable.

If Themistocles was fortunate in choosing a place for action, he was no less so with regard to the time; for he would not engage till that hour when a brisk wind generally arises from the sea, and occasions a high surf in the straits. This was no inconvenience to the Grecian vessels, which were low, and compactly framed; but it greatly embarrassed the lofty, unwieldy ships of the Persians, causing them to veer about, so as to expose their sides to the Greeks, who attacked them furiously†.

Our ships, which depend on their artillery for success in a naval engagement, must present their broadsides to the enemy, avoiding,

\* Kennet, p. 70.      † Plutarch, ib. p. 284.

as much as possible, to expose themselves in any other direction. But the galleys of the ancients, which were armed with a strong beak of brass or iron, projecting from the prow, advanced to the attack side by side, presenting these formidable beaks to the enemy. The greatest advantage one galley could gain over another, was to bring its beak, with great force, against the side of the opposing vessel. In this case, the stroke of the beak was so powerful, as often to sink the galley of the enemy immediately. If this could not be accomplished, Themistocles directed the Greeks to advance in a slanting line against the Persian ships, that the stroke of the beak might dash away the oars of their adversaries, and thus render their vessels unmanageable. He is said to have been the first who clearly understood the advantage to be thus obtained. It had hitherto been the great object of the Greeks, to grapple their ships to those of the enemy; and the decks of the vessels then resembled a field of battle. Themistocles thought it better to use the ship itself as a weapon; and he

therefore reduced the number of soldiers, that the galleys might be lighter, and easier to manage in action. This was a manœuvre for which the Persians were quite unprepared. They had increased the number of heavy-armed soldiers in each of their ships, to make sure of success\*. This increase in the number of soldiers, and the superiority of the Persian fleet, was of no advantage to them; partly on account of the new manner of fighting, and partly from the narrowness of the straits, which prevented many ships from coming into action at once. The onset was terrible on both sides; but the Grecian ships, being lighter and more easily worked, soon had the advantage. The eagerness with which the Persian fleet advanced, contributed to increase their disorder: they had not room sufficient to come regularly into action, and their ships ran against each other. Shortly the sea itself was scarcely visible, for the quantity of wrecks and floating bodies with which it was

\* Mitford, *ib.* p. 193, &c.

covered\*. The battle lasted till the evening, when the Persians were entirely defeated: the Greeks owing their success partly to their own valour, but principally to the sagacity of Themistocles†.

Thus did Xerxes, from the lofty station which he had chosen, behold the total overthrow of that fleet on which he had placed such dependance. He had also another loss to lament. That excellent brother, Artabazanes, who loved him so sincerely, was killed in this engagement‡.

After the battle of Salamis, the Persians found themselves under the necessity of retreating. No port was near, capable of receiving and sheltering the shattered remains of their immense fleet. A hasty order was issued, that very night, to steer immediately for the Hellespont. When the morning dawned, the Greeks, who expected the battle to be renewed, looked in vain for an enemy. The army, by the sudden depar-

\* Mitford, *ib.* p. 197.      † Plutarch, *ib.* p. 285.

‡ Rollin, *ib.* p. 124.



ture of the fleet, was left without supplies, and in immediate danger of starving; it was therefore compelled to retreat into Bœotia, and from thence into Thessaly. Xerxes had accomplished little in his Grecian expedition, besides revenging upon Athens the destruction of Sardis. Now the battle of Salamis was fought on the 20th of October, and it was necessary for him to return to Asia, before the approaching winter should render it impossible to pass the mountains and rivers of Macedonia and Thrace, which lay between him and the Hellespont; yet he was unwilling to abandon his projects of conquest. Three hundred thousand men were therefore selected from the army, to remain under the command of that Mardonius who had lost the battle of Marathon; but who now undertook, with the force just granted him, to complete the conquest of Greece in the following summer\*. It was Mardonius, whose flattery, and false accounts of the Greeks, had induced Xerxes to persist in

\* Mitford. *ib.* p. 202, &c.

engaging in this fatal war, in opposition to the prudent counsels of his uncle\*.

Sixty thousand men were chosen from the army of Mardonius, to escort their sovereign as far as the Hellespont. There was besides an immense multitude, whom the prospect of famine, and the dread of being detained by the approaching winter, compelled to return with all speed into Asia. For these no magazines had been provided: they were to make their way as they could. They accordingly supplied their necessities by plunder, whenever they had an opportunity of doing so. This resource failing, they eat the very grass, and the bark and leaves of the trees; till, as an ancient historian remarks, "*they left nothing.*"

The usual consequences of fatigue and hunger soon appeared. Pestilential fevers and other diseases attacked those whom famine had spared. Numbers were left sick in the towns of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, with orders (little likely to be

\* Rollin, ib. p. 128—129.

obeyed after the departure of Xerxes) that their wants should be supplied. A few short months before, they had passed through these very towns splendidly accoutred, and inspired by the dazzling expectation of glory. Now, sick and miserable, they were left to languish among strangers, for a few weeks or days, till death put an end to their sufferings.

On the 4th of December, 480 years before the birth of our Saviour, Xerxes arrived at the Hellespont. The bridges were already destroyed by the violence of the current; but, happily, his fleet was arrived. The troops which had escorted him, immediately returned towards Macedonia; and Xerxes himself, embarking in one of his ships, crossed over into Asia, and returned to Sardis, where he had spent the preceding winter in forming those splendid designs, of which he had now to lament the unexpected termination\*.

Dr. Johnson, in a poem called "The Vanity

\* Mitford, *ib.* p. 204.

of Human Wishes," gives the following spirited sketch of the Expedition of Xerxes, and its inglorious termination.

"In gay hostility, and barbarous pride,  
With half mankind embattled at his side,  
Great Xerxes comes to seize the certain prey,  
And starves exhausted regions in his way;  
Attendant flattery counts his myriads o'er,  
Till counted myriads sooth his pride no more;  
Fresh praise is tried till madness fires his mind;  
The waves he lashes, and enchains the wind;  
New powers are claim'd, new powers are still bestow'd,  
Till rude resistance lops the spreading god.  
The daring Greeks deride the martial show,  
And heap their valleys with the gaudy foe:  
Th' insulted sea with humbler thoughts he gains,  
A single skiff to speed his flight remains;  
Th' encumber'd oar scarce leaves the dreaded coast,  
Through purple billows, and a floating host."

The extravagant conduct of Xerxes, described in these lines, is not the invention of the poet. Some historians have asserted, that when Xerxes arrived at the Hellespont, on his way to Greece, he found that a violent tempest had broken the bridge of boats, which necessarily occasioned some delay.

On hearing this, the youthful monarch became exceedingly angry, and commanded some chains to be thrown into the sea, as if to restrain its motion; and not content with this, it is pretended that he ordered some of his people to give the refractory ocean three hundred lashes with a whip, at the same time upbraiding and informing this restless element, that its master caused it to be chastised in that manner, for having offended him without reason. It is even said, that the enraged Xerxes, making the persons who had been employed in the construction of the bridge, answerable for the misfortune which had occurred, ordered all those who had conducted that work to be beheaded\*.

But the punishment of the sea, and the execution of those unhappy men, are considered to be fictions; because they are in themselves ridiculous and impolitic, and repugnant to what we learn, from the best authority, of the manners of the Persians†;

\* Rollin, tom. iii. p. 143. † Mitford, vol. ii. p. 120.

a nation which every authentic account describes as a people of liberal sentiments and polished manners, beyond almost any other in all antiquity\*.

\* Ibid. p. 164.



## THE EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

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Thus powerful death th' ambitious man arrests,  
In midst of all his great and towering hopes,  
With heart high swoln; as the omnipotent frost  
Seizes the rough, enchafed, northern sea,  
And all its mighty billows heav'd aloft,  
Boldly commixing with the clouds of heaven,  
Are fix'd to rage no more.

JOANNA BAILLIE.

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ABOUT seventy-five years have passed away  
since the battle of Salamis. New scenes  
and new actors appear upon the stage.  
Another Darius lies at the point of death:  
two rival brothers again advance their claims  
to the throne about to become vacant.

“ Like leaves on trees the race of man is found,  
Now green in youth, now withering on the ground;

Another race the following spring supplies;  
They fall successive, and successive rise:  
So generations in their course decay;  
So flourish these, when those are pass'd away \*."

The leaves of the returning spring, resemble those of other years; but not so the generations which rise to fill the place of those which are departed.

Darius Nothus, the monarch who now claims our attention, had two sons in the same circumstances as the sons of the former Darius. Artaxerxes, the elder of these young princes, was born, like Artabazanes, before his father's accession to the Persian crown; and, as eldest son, he laid claim to the succession. Cyrus, the younger brother, born, like Xerxes, after his father was king, hoped that, like Xerxes, he should be preferred on that account. Alas! these princes are not going to present us with another delightful example of brotherly love; but with a terrible picture of the fatal consequences of jealousy, ambition, and revenge.

\* Iliad, b. vi.



Parysatis, though she was equally the mother of Artaxerxes and of Cyrus, did not divide her affection justly between them. Proud of the splendid qualities of her younger son, she was not content with having persuaded her husband to pardon some faults of which he had been guilty, but she was desirous that he should succeed to the royal dignity; and she urged the king to show him the same preference, which, under similar circumstances, Xerxes had obtained. But Darius, who had already received proof of the violent and ambitious character of Cyrus, remained steady to his purpose, and left the crown to Artaxerxes, assigning to his younger son the government of Asia Minor, with which he had for some time been intrusted. A little before the death of Darius, Artaxerxes requested to know what had been the rule of his conduct during his long and prosperous reign, that he might be enabled to imitate him. "It has been," replied the expiring monarch, "always to do

what justice and religion required of me\*." Happy would it have been for his children, could they, in their last moments, have truly made the same declaration!

After the death of Darius, Tissaphernes, who had professed to be the friend of the young Cyrus, accused him to the new king of treasonable designs. Artaxerxes, giving credit to the tale, ordered Cyrus to be imprisoned, with the intention of putting him to death. This dreadful sentence would probably have been passed by one brother against the other, had not the queen, Parysatis, interfered, and by her powerful entreaties prevailed on Artaxerxes not only to restore the young prince to liberty, but to reinstate him in the government of those provinces which had been committed to him by the late king. Cyrus, when he set out for his distant government, carried with him his ambitious temper, irritated by a revengeful sense of the disgrace and danger which he had just incurred. His mind then

\* Rollin, tom. 4, p. 67—69.

busied itself in contriving plans, not only to free himself from subjection to his brother, but, if possible, to reign in his place. In this unjust design he was encouraged by his unprincipled mother, who thus widened the difference between her unhappy children\*.

Artaxerxes, on his part, jealous of the abilities and popular character of Cyrus, apprehensive of his revenge, and perhaps also of his ambition, endeavoured, by encouraging Orontas, the governor of Sardis, to rebellion, so to occupy the thoughts and activity of Cyrus, as to prevent the danger of his forming designs against the throne. Cyrus subdued Orontas, and forgave him. Orontas again rebelled, was again subdued, and again obtained, not only pardon, but favour from his generous conqueror†.

The Persians, in the time of Cyrus the younger, had very much degenerated from the character which they bore in the days of the great Cyrus. They were no longer

\* Spelman's Xenophon, vol. i. pp. 6, 7.

† Mitford, vol. v. p. 163.

an active, hardy, and temperate people, distinguished from surrounding nations by their attachment to truth and justice, and their abhorrence of ingratitude. Cyrus, who possessed a generous temper, and superior powers of body and of mind, capable of friendship, and naturally solicitous for the esteem of men like himself, could not fail to be struck by the superiority of the Greeks, to the Persians of his own time; particularly as Sardis, where he resided, was so near the Grecian settlements in Ionia; as to afford frequent opportunities of intercourse with men of that nation. His penetration discovered the use that might be made of them, and his ambition induced him to cultivate their friendship\*.

Since we have had repeated occasion to mention the superiority of the Persian character to that of the Greeks, it may be worth while to notice some obvious reasons for the change we have just remarked. In the story of the Tyrants, we observed that the

\* Mitford, p. 165.

love of knowledge was first excited among the Athenians, under the wise and benevolent administration of the Pisistratidæ. During the long and stormy period that followed the expulsion of Hippias, the Athenians could have no leisure to cultivate the arts of peace; but, before the time of which we are now speaking, Athens had enjoyed an interval of prosperity under the government of Pericles. The Greeks, becoming acquainted with Asia, acquired a relish for Asiatic luxuries; but at Athens, this taste, influenced by genius, led to excellence in the arts of painting and sculpture\*. Phidias made that famous statue of Jupiter Olympus, which was considered as one of the wonders of the world†; and his brother, Panenus, adorned one of the porticos of Athens with a painting representing the battle of Marathon. The surprise of the spectators was extreme, when they recognised in this picture the portraits of Milti-

\* Tytler, vol. i. p. 68.

† Lemprière.

ades and Mardonius, the chiefs of the contending armies\*.

It was not only a taste for luxury and the fine arts which the Greeks derived from the Asiatics. Anaxagoras, the preceptor and friend of Pericles, was instructed in all the learning of the Ionians. He introduced philosophy; and the wisdom of his discourses let in new light on the minds of men†. We shall, on a future occasion, speak of the Athenian philosophers. Enough has been said to show that the Greeks were improving in knowledge, while the Persians declined in virtue; and we now return to Cyrus, whom we left seeking to increase his connexion with the Greeks, that he might engage them to accompany him in his adventures.

If Cyrus had been taught that it was his duty to govern his passions; if he had been educated in that reverence for justice which once distinguished the Persians, it is probable that the many great and good

\* Anacharsis, tom. i. p. 346.      † Mitford, p. 141.

qualities which he possessed, would in time have made him a wise and happy man. At any rate, he would have submitted to the decision of his father, and never have engaged in so wicked an enterprise as that of attempting to deprive his brother of the empire to which he had so just a claim. If we do not honestly strive to conquer our passions, they will subdue us. So it was with Cyrus. Ambition was the prevailing fault of his character; he did not try to conquer it, and he became its slave.

As soon as he had resolved to carry his designs against his brother into effect, he anxiously sought opportunities of increasing his connexion with the Greeks. They alone, among the nations of that time, knew how to train armies, so that thousands of men might act as one machine\*. Men of character from every part of Greece, but especially from Peloponnesus, which was famed for the skill and courage of its heavy-armed soldiers, met with a favourable re-

\* Mitford, p. 165.

ception at the court of Cyrus. The long war in which the Greeks had been engaged among themselves, and which was but lately concluded, left numbers of men at liberty, who had been accustomed to a military life, and who were ready and willing to engage in his service.

The superintending command of the Persian prince extended over that part of Asia Minor which lies between the Archipelago and the river Halys\*. This river, rising near the mountains of Cappadocia, flows northward in a serpentine course, till it empties its waters into the Black Sea. Some part of this extensive territory was under his immediate government: the rest was under the care of Persian officers, called satraps, who were subject to the control of Cyrus.

This prince, who wanted a pretext for raising an army, that would not excite suspicion in the mind of his brother, found such an excuse by pretending causes of

\* Mitford, p. 166.



complaint against Tissaphernes, the satrap of Ionia. Availing himself of this excuse, he directed the Grecian commanders who were devoted to his interest, to enlist as many Greeks as they could in the Ionian cities, under pretence of strengthening his own garrisons against the apprehended attempts of Tissaphernes.

When Cyrus was first entrusted by his father with the government of Asia Minor, he was remarkable for frankness, honour, and strict regard to truth\*. If he entered into a league, engaged in a contract, or made a promise, his greatest care was never to deceive: for this reason, the cities that belonged to his government, as well as private men, placed confidence in him; so that when he made war against Tissaphernes, all the Ionian cities, except Miletus, willingly declared for him. The Milesians were afraid, because he would not abandon their banished citizens; for Cyrus showed by his

\* Mitford, p. 167.

actions, as well as his words, that he would never desert those to whom he had given assurance of his friendship\*. This uprightness of character, united with pleasing manners and a generous temper, was the foundation of his popularity; which was so great, that there was no man of that age to whom such numbers of people were willing to deliver up themselves and all that belonged to them†. But Cyrus was now devoting himself to ambition, and, under the overwhelming influence of that selfish passion, his noble sincerity gradually declined. So far from acknowledging any disobedience to the king, he even stooped to the meanness of soliciting that brother, against whose power and life he was already conspiring, to add the province of Ionia to his own immediate government. His request was granted, being supported by his mother, who carefully preserved her influence over her elder son, while she encouraged the designs of the younger against him‡.

\* Spelman, pp. 96, 97.

† Ib. p. 97.

‡ Mitford, p. 167.

Among the Greeks who met with a favourable reception at the court of Cyrus, was Clearchus, a Lacedæmonian. He had served in the armies of his own country, through the long war which had afflicted Greece and humbled the pride of Athens. That war was now concluded, and Clearchus, at the age of fifty, felt that he had been too long accustomed to military habits, to return to his former occupations. What a melancholy consequence of the restless, wandering employment of a soldier! Clearchus must again plunge into scenes of violence and cruelty, or else his evening hours of life will pass heavily away. He looked around for some opportunity of acquiring military fame, and hearing that the Thracian Chersonesus was in an unsettled state, he was very anxious to go there. He set out on his journey, and proceeded as far as Corinth, where an order to return to Sparta overtook him. The disappointment was more than he could bear; he resolved to disobey the orders of his government, and proceeded, in defiance of the injunction he had just received, to act

in pursuance of a commission, which he had previously obtained, investing him with a command in the Chersonesus. For this offence the Spartan government passed sentence of death on Clearchus: of course, he was obliged to remain a banished man for the rest of his life \*.

It was under these circumstances that Clearchus made his appearance at the court of Cyrus, who, notwithstanding the surly countenance, harsh voice, and rough manners of the Spartan stranger, perceived that he possessed a character which that prince was earnestly desirous of attaching to his interest; and, after a short acquaintance, he presented him with ten thousand darics, a sum equal to between seven and eight thousand pounds of our money. Military command, and military adventures, were the supreme delight of Clearchus. He employed the whole of this magnificent present in raising troops, at the head of which he offered protection to the Grecian colonies in the

\* Mitford, p. 168.

**Chersonesus.** His services were gladly accepted; and his success against the invaders, together with the regular and inoffensive behaviour of his troops, gained so effectually the esteem of those colonies, that they voluntarily furnished money for the pay of his soldiers. Thus, a body of well-disciplined troops was kept in readiness for the service of Cyrus\*.

Thessaly being in a state of civil war, Aristippus, the chief of one of the parties, who had lived for some time at the court of Cyrus, engaged that prince to assist him in raising soldiers. This was too favourable an opportunity of increasing his forces, to be neglected; and thus another body of troops was maintained for Cyrus, in a manner that could not excite suspicion.

Thebes supplied another general, in the person of Proxenus, a man of great talents, pleasing manners, and estimable character. He was dissatisfied with the state of things

\* Mitford, p. 169.

in his own city, and went, at the age of thirty, to the court of Cyrus, on purpose to seek employment, honour, and fortune. Proxenus not only gained the notice, but secured the friendship of Cyrus, who commissioned him to raise a body of Greek soldiers, for a purpose which the king of Persia could not disapprove. He said it was to subdue the Pisidians, who had rebelled against his authority\*.

When Proxenus was thus engaged in the service of the Persian prince, he felt the want of a friend and companion, whose character and pursuits were like his own, and whose society might be pleasant to him while he continued in a foreign land. He therefore wrote to his intimate friend Xenophon, one of the pupils of Socrates, the best and the wisest of Grecian philosophers. Proxenus urged his young friend to come over to him at Sardis, and partake of the prince's favour, to which he promised to introduce him. Xenophon, who had no great reason

\* Mitford, pp. 170, 171.

to be pleased with his prospects at Athens, accepted the invitation\*.

Cyrus was not content with having a Grecian army; he wished also to secure the assistance of a Grecian fleet. To obtain this, he sent a person in whom he could confide, to Sparta, which was then the most powerful state in Greece, and solicited this favour, in return for some service which he had formerly rendered the Lacedæmonians. They acknowledged the justice of his claim, and ordered Samius, who commanded their ships, to join the prince's fleet, and follow the directions of his admiral, Tamos, who was an Egyptian.

Every preparation being at length completed, and the favourable season for action approaching, all the Ionian garrisons were ordered to Sardis, and the other Grecian troops in the pay of Cyrus were directed to assemble; some at Sardis, and others at places to the eastward of that city. A very large army of Asiatics was collected at the

\* Mitford, p. 171.

same time. It was pretended, that the object of all these preparations was to subdue the rebellious Pisidians; and the soldiers, for a short time, were willing to believe that this was really the plan which Cyrus had in contemplation.

But Tissaphernes, the satrap of Ionia, whom Cyrus had supplanted in his government, was not to be so easily deceived. He thought he could penetrate the secret designs of the ambitious prince; and not choosing to trust a message of such importance to any one, he set out himself, with an escort of five hundred horse, to communicate his suspicions to the king.

In the mean time, Cyrus marched from Sardis, by Colossæ, to Celænæ in Phrygia, a large and populous town, where he halted four days. Here he was joined by the last division of the Grecian troops, which now amounted to thirteen thousand men. The Asiatic soldiers were nearly a hundred thousand. Proceeding towards the east, he halted again at Peltæ\*.

\* Mitford, p. 172, &c.



The next place in which the army encamped was the plain of Caystrus, near a large town, which afforded a supply of provisions. Cyrus had for some time been distressed for want of money: this produced dissatisfaction among the Greeks, who were disappointed of their pay; and their discontent increased so much, that the officers found it difficult to restrain the conduct of the men. In this perplexing state of affairs, Cyrus received a visit from Epyaxa, the princess of Cilicia; and as he very soon after surprised and pleased his army, by giving them pay for four months, they naturally concluded that the princess had supplied him with money. When orders were given for resuming the march, the Greeks proceeded cheerfully. Epyaxa, with the squadron of horse-soldiers who attended her, accompanied them on their way\*. In four days they came to Tyriæum, where they staid three days. Here Cyrus gratified the curiosity of his visiter, by a grand review of

\* Mitford, p. 175.

his army. He ordered the Greeks to arrange themselves in order of battle, and that each of the commanders should draw up his own men. They did so, accordingly, in a line which was formed four deep. Menon, a young Thessalian, who commanded the troops raised by Aristippus, had the right, and Clearchus the left; the rest of the generals being in the centre. First Cyrus viewed the Asiatics, (or barbarians as they are generally called by the Greeks,) who marched by their prince in troops and companies. Then Cyrus in a car, and the Cilician princess in a covered chariot, rode along the Grecian line. Those veteran soldiers were uniformly armed and clothed: they wore brazen helmets, scarlet vests, greaves, and burnished shields. After having viewed them all, he stopped his car in the centre of their front, and sent Pigres, his interpreter, to the Grecian generals, with orders for the whole line to advance in order of battle. The generals repeated these orders to the soldiers, who, when the trumpet sounded, presented their pikes and advanced: then

quickenings their march, they shouted, and ran towards the tents. This new and unexpected sight struck the Asiatics with astonishment and fear. Epyaxa quitted her chariot and fled; and the sutlers who attended the camp, when they saw this vast body of men rushing forward, as if to make a desperate charge, left all their stores and ran away: while the Greeks, laughing at the terror and confusion they had occasioned by this exhibition, repaired to their tents. When the Cilician queen recovered from her panic, she expressed her admiration of the appearance and discipline of the Greeks; and Cyrus was very well pleased to see the terror with which they had struck the barbarians\*.

In three days the army arrived at Iconium. Thence they continued their march through Lycaonia, directing their course towards the south-east. In this part of the journey the Cilician princess took leave of Cyrus, in order to return, by the nearest road across the

\* Spelman, p. 21—23.

mountains, to her own country. Menon, with his Thessalian soldiers, was ordered to escort her. This was a compliment to Epyaxa, and also a convenience to Cyrus, who wished to know whether his fleet had yet arrived on the coast of Cilicia. Cyrus, with the rest of the army, moved on through Cappadocia to Dana, a rich and populous city\*. From this town, a carriage-road led across the rugged ridge of Mount Taurus to Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia†. The road in this place was just broad enough for a chariot to pass, very steep, and, if there should be any opposition, quite inaccessible for an army. Cyrus received information that Syennesis, the husband of Epyaxa, had taken possession of the eminences, in order to guard the pass. On this account the Persian prince staid another day in the plain. The day after, news was brought by a messenger, that Syennesis had quitted the eminences, on hearing that Menon's army was already in Cilicia, and also that

\* Spelman, *ib.* to 24.

† Mitford, p. 177.

Tamos was sailing round from Ionia to Cilicia, with the united fleet under his command. Cyrus immediately marched up the mountain, without meeting any opposition; and made himself master of the tents where the Cilicians had been stationed to oppose his passage. From the ridge of Taurus, the army descended into a large and beautiful plain, shaded by a great variety of trees, well watered, and abounding in vines and corn. Through this fruitful and pleasant country, Cyrus marched for four days, and then arrived at Tarsus. He found, with surprise and regret, that this large and flourishing town had been plundered, and was nearly deserted: even the prince's palace had been stripped, and Syennesis, with the principal inhabitants, had withdrawn to a strong hold in the mountains\*.

These excesses were committed by Menon and the men under his command†. Such scenes are but too often beheld, in countries

\* Spelman, p. 25—26.

† Mitford, p. 178.

he began to march; they threw stones at him, and he escaped with difficulty from their violence. When he found that he could not succeed by force, he called his soldiers together, and in an artful speech, pretended to yield to their opinion, and expressed his willingness to desert the cause of Cyrus. Thus he increased his influence over their minds\*.

When the prince heard these things, he was filled with perplexity. Clearchus was the only general in whom he had entirely confided, and he knew, that if the Greeks deserted him, his enterprise could not be attended with any probability of success. He therefore sent for Clearchus, who refused to go, but despatched a messenger secretly, to encourage the prince to believe that affairs would yet take a favourable turn. He then assembled his soldiers, and after representing the difficulties of their situation, and that it was no time to sleep, but to consult what was to be done, he concluded with

\* Mitford, p. 180.

these words: "Cyrus is a very valuable friend, where he is a friend; but the severest enemy, where he is an enemy. He is also master of that strength, both in foot, horse, and at sea, which we are all acquainted with; for truly we do not seem to be encamped at a great distance from him; so that this is the time for every one to advise what he judges best." Here he stopped\*.

Then some rose up of their own accord, and gave their opinion; and others, privately instructed by Clearchus, represented the difficulties that would attend either staying or going without the approbation of Cyrus. After a long discussion, they found no way of ending their perplexity, but by sending Clearchus himself, with some others, to Cyrus, to inquire on what service he really intended to employ them. Now all this was the result of an artful plan, privately settled between the prince and the Spartan: of course, Cyrus had prepared his speech be-

\* Spelman, p. 32—34.

forehand. He received the deputies very graciously, and when Clearchus had asked the questions dictated by the army, he answered as follows: "I am informed, that Abrocomas, my enemy, lies near the Euphrates, at the distance of twelve days' march; therefore, my intention is, if I find him there, to punish, by leading my army against him; but if he flies from the place, I will there consider what we are to do\*."

This speech did not deceive the Greeks; but not knowing very well how to return through a hostile country, they resolved to follow Cyrus, who, promising to increase the pay of the soldiers, was again enabled quietly to resume his march†.

In five days the army reached Issus, a large sea-port town, near the eastern boundary of Cilicia. The fleet was already there, consisting of twenty-five Phœnician, and thirty-five Grecian ships. They brought an addition to the land forces, of seven hundred heavy-armed Greeks, under the command of

\* Spelman, *ib.* to 38.

† Mitford, 181, &c.



a Spartan named Cheirisophus. Here Cyrus was also joined by four hundred other Greeks, who had been in the service of Abrocomas. With these welcome reinforcements the prince continued his march towards the east. He had not proceeded quite twenty miles from Issus, when he came to a pass, where the ridge of Mount Taurus so nearly meets the shore, that only a very narrow road is left between the sea and the lofty precipices of the mountain\*. Here were two fortresses, called the gates of Cilicia and Syria. The inner one, next to Cilicia, was possessed by the soldiers of Syenesis; the outer one, next to Syria, was said to be defended by the king's troops. Between these two fortresses flows a river, one hundred feet in breadth, called the Kersus. Here it was not possible to force a way; for the pass was narrow, the forts reached down to the sea, and above them were inaccessible rocks. Cyrus expected a formidable resistance from Abrocomas, who was said to have

\* Mitford, 182, &c.

an army of three hundred thousand men. However, when the army reached the Syrian gate, it was undefended, and Cyrus passed through without molestation\*.

The next halt was at Myriandrus, a port situated on the same gulf as Issus, and nearly opposite to that town. Here two of the Grecian generals embarked in a merchant-ship, and sailed away. As soon as they disappeared, it was said that Cyrus would follow them with his galleys. Some wished that they might be taken, because they had acted perfidiously; others were more inclined to pity them, in case they should fall into the prince's hands.

Cyrus immediately assembled the general officers, and spoke thus to them: "Xenias and Pasion have left us, but they are not gone away so as to be concealed, for I know whither they are going; neither are they escaped, for my galleys can come up with their ships. But I do not intend to pursue them; neither shall any one say, that while

\* Spelman, p. 41, 42.

people are with me I use their services; but that when they desire to leave me, I seize them, treat them ill, and rob them of their fortunes. Let them go, therefore, and remember, that they have behaved themselves worse to me than I to them. Their wives and children are under guard at Tralles; however, not even of these shall they be deprived, but shall receive them, in return for the gallant behaviour they have formerly shown in my service\*."

The Greeks, seeing this instance of Cyrus's generosity, were so much pleased with it, that even those who had felt reluctant to proceed, now followed him with greater pleasure and cheerfulness†.

In a fortnight they reached Thapsacus, a large town on the Euphrates. There Cyrus no longer attempted to keep his purpose a secret, but desired the Grecian generals to inform their troops, that he was leading them against Artaxerxes. Though the soldiers had long suspected this, the in-

\* Spelman, p. 42—46.

† Ibid.

formation was not well received; and, to appease their murmurs, Cyrus was obliged to promise them a large gratuity on arriving at Babylon. Even with this reward in prospect, from one accustomed to keep his promises faithfully, many of the Greeks still hesitated, and felt reluctant to undertake so hazardous an enterprise, at such a distance from their own country\*.

In this moment of irresolution, Menon had the address to persuade the soldiers under his command, that a prompt compliance would secure them the highest place in the favour of a generous prince, who, he was confident, would be their friend in whatever they desired of him. The soldiers hearing this, followed his advice, and passed the Euphrates before the rest of the army had returned an answer. When Cyrus heard of this, he was pleased, and ordered the following speech to be made to them in his name:—"Soldiers! I praise you for what you have done, and will take care that you

\* Mitford, p. 185:

also shall have reason to praise me: if I do not, think me no longer Cyrus." After this, Cyrus passed the river at the head of his army, the water not reaching above their breasts; though the inhabitants of Thapsacus declared that the river had never been fordable before, nor passed, except in boats, which Abrocomas had burned, to prevent Cyrus from crossing to the other side\*.

From this station Cyrus advanced to the banks of the Araxes, where he found many villages so abundantly supplied with corn and wine, that he staid there three days, and then proceeded through a country which Xenophon calls Arabia; probably from its resemblance to the trackless sands on the right bank of the Euphrates, which usually bear that name.

The country now traversed by the army was a plain as level as the sea; not a tree enlivened the dreary prospect, and the few shrubs and reeds that grow there, were of

\* Spelman, p. 49—51.

the aromatic kind. Wormwood was more plentiful than any other plant.

They saw many wild asses, or zebras, and a number of ostriches. There were also bustards and roe-deer, which the horsemen sometimes chased. They tried to catch the zebras, but this was very difficult; for those creatures ran faster than the horses, and when they had left them far behind, they would stand still till they were nearly overtaken, and then set off again. The ostriches baffled them completely; for they not only made good use of their long legs, but their wings, when expanded, served as sails to waft them along. The bustards were more easily taken; for these birds make short flights, like partridges, and are soon tired: their flesh is excellent.

For three weeks Cyrus continued marching on through this dreary country, still keeping the Euphrates on his right. During this journey many of their horses died of hunger. There was no grass to be seen, nor any other plant, for the whole country was entirely barren. The inhabitants of this

dreary region were employed near the river in digging millstones, which they afterwards cut into shape, and carried to Babylon, where they sold them, and bought provisions for their support. The army now suffered for want of corn, and observing a large city on the other side of the Euphrates, they crossed the river by a contrivance very common among the ancients\*.

The soldiers' tents were covered with skins instead of canvass: they filled these skins with dry hay, and sewed them up so closely, that the water could not penetrate. These being very light, floated on the river, and by this means the soldiers passed over, and supplied themselves with provisions from the city.

While the army halted on the river side, to obtain this welcome supply, a dispute arose between Menon's soldiers and those of Clearchus. The Spartan general, thinking one of Menon's men in the wrong, struck

\* Spelman, p. 52—60.

him. He told his companions of this affront, and they so highly resented the indignity, that they attacked Clearchus, on the same day, while he was returning from the river, where he had been inspecting the provisions. The assault was so violent, that his life was in danger; but he rode on, and reached his own camp, where anger so far overcame his prudence, that he ordered his men to arm, and advanced with a party of Thracians and some horse-soldiers, to Menon's encampment, who, though at first surprised, prepared with his men to resist the attack. In this critical moment, Proxenus, who happened to be passing by at the head of his heavy-armed men, advanced between them, and making his soldiers stand to their arms, he entreated Clearchus to desist.

The angry Spartan was still more offended at hearing Proxenus speak calmly of his grievance, when he had so narrowly escaped being stoned to death; he therefore desired him to withdraw. In the mean time Cyrus himself came up, and, riding between them, spoke as follows: "Clearchus! and Prox-



enus! and you Greeks who are present! You are not sensible of what you are doing; for, if you fight with one another, be assured, that I shall this day be destroyed, and you not long after; for if our affairs decline, all these barbarians whom you see before you, will be greater enemies to you than those belonging to the king." Clearchus hearing this, came to himself, and both sides, resigning their anger, laid up their arms where they were before\*.

From Pylæ, a town near the edge of the desert, Cyrus marched forward through the province of Babylon, and after three days he reviewed his forces in a plain, about midnight; having reason to expect that he should meet the king's army the next day. When morning dawned, there came deserters from the army of Artaxerxes, and Cyrus then assembled his Grecian generals, to consult with them concerning the order of the battle. At the same time, he exhorted them in the most animated manner to show themselves,

\* Spelman, p. 62—65.

in the approaching conflict, worthy of the liberty which they enjoyed; he also encouraged them by assurances of the cowardice of the Asiatic troops, who, after the first assault, were so easily routed. He concluded by repeating magnificent promises of future favours. All those who were admitted to Cyrus's presence on this occasion, advised him not to risk his own life in the engagement, but to stand in the rear of his army\*.

Cléarchus now put this question to the prince: "Are you of opinion, O Cyrus! that your brother will hazard a battle?" "Certainly," answered Cyrus, "if he is the son of Darius and Parysatis, and my brother, I shall never obtain all this without a stroke†."

The whole army then marched in order of battle. When they had advanced about five miles, they came to a wide and deep trench, which had been formed on purpose to obstruct the progress of Cyrus. The

\* Ib. p. 74—78.

† Ibid.

canals, which at a little distance connect the Tigris with the Euphrates, afforded an easy means of filling this trench with water, so as to form a line of defence for the country beyond. Yet, after all the labour and expense incurred by carrying this work across the country for more than forty miles, no opposition to the passage of Cyrus was attempted. This advantageous post was deserted, and when the prince arrived there, he perceived only the tracks of a retreating multitude of men and horses\*.

Since the king had suffered Cyrus and the army to pass this line without molestation, the prince, and every body else, concluded that Artaxerxes had given up all thoughts of fighting. In the next day's march, order was therefore less attended to; and, on the day following, Cyrus quitted his horse, to ride at ease in his chariot; while the whole army marched carelessly along, as if in a time of peace they were moving from

\* Mitford, p. 193.

one town to another. It was very hot, and many of the soldiers, to relieve themselves from the burden of their heavy armour, committed it to the waggons and baggage-horses\*.

They were near the end of the day's march, when Patagyas, one of the Persians in whom Cyrus most confided, was seen riding at full speed towards them, calling to every one he met, both in his own language and in Greek, that the king was at hand with a vast army, marching in order of battle! This intelligence occasioned general confusion among the Greeks, who expected Artaxerxes to charge them before they had time to put themselves in order.

Cyrus leaping from his car, put on his corslet, mounted his horse, took his javelins in his hand, and ordered every man to arm and take his post. At this command they quickly formed themselves. Clearchus on the right wing, close to the Euphrates; next to him Proxenus, and after him the rest;

\* Ibid. p. 194.

Menon, with his Thessalians, being on the left of the Greek army. The Asiatics, under the command of Cyrus, were disposed in the following manner: a thousand Paphlagonian horse, with the Greek targeteers, stood next to Clearchus, on the right; Ariæus, the lieutenant-general of Cyrus, was on the left. The barbarians were armed with large corslets and cuishes, and all had helmets, except Cyrus, who, with six hundred horse, placed himself in the centre, and stood ready for the charge, with his head unarmed, after the custom of the Persians.

It was now the middle of the day, and no enemy was yet to be seen; but in the afternoon there appeared a dust resembling a white cloud, which soon after spread like darkness over the plain. Approaching nearer, their brazen armour flashed, and their spears and ranks appeared. On the left came a body of horse armed in white corslets, said to be commanded by Tissaphernes; others followed with Persian bucklers. Besides these were heavy-armed men, with wooden shields reaching down to their

feet; (these were said to be Egyptians;) and other horsemen and archers, all of whom marched according to their respective countries, each nation being drawn up in a solid oblong square. Before these, and at a considerable distance from each other, came chariots armed with scythes, so fixed, that they might cut asunder every thing which obstructed their progress\*.

The army of the Persian monarch advanced as silently and quietly as possible, in a slow and equal march. Cyrus riding along his own ranks, with Pigres the interpreter, and several others, commanded Clearchus to bring his men opposite to the centre of the enemy, because the king was there, saying, "If we break that, our work is done." Now the army of the king was so much superior in number to that of his brother, that when he stood in the centre of it, he was beyond Cyrus's left wing. Therefore, when Clearchus observed this, he was afraid to leave his present station, where he was protected

\* Spelman, p. 82—86.

on his right by the river; for he thought, that if he placed himself opposite to the king's centre, he should be surrounded; yet being, probably, unwilling to disoblige Cyrus, he answered that he would take care that all should go well \*.

Now the Persians under Artaxerxes came regularly on, and the ranks of the Greeks were formed as the men came up. Cyrus, in the mean time, riding at a little distance in front, surveyed both the enemy's army and his own. Was it possible, that, in that awful moment, ambition could so harden his heart, that he should feel no compunction for thus seeking the throne and the life of his brother! Xenophon, observing the prince, rode up to him, and asked if he had any thing to command. Cyrus, stopping his horse, ordered him to let the Greeks know that the sacrifices and victims promised success. While he was saying this, he heard a murmur running through the Grecian ranks, and asked the meaning of it. Xenophon an-

\* Ib. p. 87.

swered, that the word was giving for the second time. Cyrus, wondering who should give it, asked him what the word was. The Athenian replied, "Jupiter the Preserver, and Victory." Cyrus said, "I accept it: let that be the word!" After this, he returned to his own station, and, the two armies being now at a proper distance, the Greeks sung the Pæan, or Hymn of Battle, and began to advance: then, quickening their march, they at once gave a general shout, (as their custom is, when they invoke the god of war,) and all ran forward, striking their pikes upon their shields. The Persians did not wait for this terrible onset; but turned their horses and fled. The Greeks pursued; and when they came near the chariots armed with scythes, they divided their line, and passed by without receiving any injury. Only one Greek was hurt, and this was a man in the left wing, who was wounded by an arrow\*.

Cyrus, seeing the Greeks victorious on

\* Spelman, p. 87—91.



their side, rejoiced in his prospect of success, and received homage from those about him, as if he were already king. He did not, however, join in the pursuit; but keeping his six hundred horse in a body, he carefully observed the king's motions, well knowing that he was in the centre of the Persian army. For it was the custom of all barbarian armies for the generals to be in the centre; both because they consider it as the safest place, and if they wish to give any orders, they are received in half the time by the army. The king then, being, as has been said, in the centre of his own army, was, on account of the great length of his front, beyond the left wing of Cyrus, consequently there were no troops immediately opposite to him. When Artaxerxes saw this, he wheeled to attack his brother's army in flank, or sideways. Cyrus, who steadily watched all his motions, was now fearful of being surrounded, and seized the moment to charge, at the head of his six hundred horse, the guard of six thousand who attended the king.

The guards of Artaxerxes were routed, and the six hundred belonging to Cyrus dispersed in pursuit of them, so that the prince was left with only a few of his own particular friends about him. At this moment he saw the king properly attended, and, unable to contain himself, he cried out, "*I see the man!*" Then running furiously at his brother, he struck him on the breast, and wounded him through his corslet; but while he was giving the blow, he himself received a wound under the eye, from somebody who threw a javelin at him with great force. Now the king and Cyrus fought hand to hand; and those about them fought in their defence, till Cyrus was killed, and eight of his most considerable friends laid dead upon him\*.

Thus died Cyrus! a man universally acknowledged, by those who were well acquainted with him, to have been, of all the Persians since the ancient Cyrus, endowed with the most princely qualities, and the

\* Spelman, p. 91—94.

most worthy of empire. While he was yet a child, and educated with his brother and other children, he was considered superior to them in all things. All the children of the nobility in Persia were brought up at court, where they continually saw those who were honoured, and those who were disgraced by the king, and heard the reasons of both; so that, even while they were children, they learned to command, as well as to obey. Cyrus showed himself more docile and submissive than any of his age. He also excelled in the management of horses, and in martial exercises. He was fonder of hunting than any of his companions; and even courted danger when engaged in the chase. Once, when a bear rushed upon him, he did not decline the combat: the beast tore him from his horse, and inflicted such wounds, that Cyrus ever after retained the scars of them, but at last he killed the bear. The person who ran first to assist the wounded Cyrus, was made a happy man by the gratitude with which he returned this kindness.

His sincerity and faithfulness to his promises have been already mentioned. As a governor, he secured the esteem and affection of those who served him. If any one was punctual in the execution of his orders, he never suffered his diligence to go unrewarded; for this reason, he was well served in all his enterprises. To those of his friends whose attachment he was assured of, and whom he looked upon as proper persons to assist him in accomplishing his designs, he endeavoured to prove himself a most powerful assistant in every thing which he found they desired. No one, except Orontas, ever attempted to desert from Cyrus to the king; though many left the service of the latter for that of the prince, because they thought that their merit would be more worthily rewarded by Cyrus. What happened at his death, made it evident that he knew how to select those for his private friends who were faithful, constant, and affectionate. Even when he was killed, all his favourites, except Ariæus, who commanded the left wing, died fighting for him, whom, even in death, they

resolved never to abandon\*. But though he so remarkably succeeded in gaining and securing the affections of his friends, his character affords a striking example, that the best and noblest qualities will not make us either good or happy, if *one* bad passion is suffered to remain uncontrolled.

The battle in which Cyrus fell, is called the battle of Cunaxa, because it was fought near a town of that name, situated a little to the north of Babylon. When the prince was killed, the Greeks were engaged in pursuit of the flying Persians; but Ariæus, and the Asiatic troops under his command, soon perceived the unhappy fate of Cyrus, whose head and right hand were cut off immediately after his death, and carried about the field†.

This terrible proof of the death of Cyrus, inspired the right wing and centre of the king's army with fresh courage, and they advanced with alacrity. The troops under Ariæus did not wait for the assault, but fled,

\* Spelman, p. 94—104.

† Ib. p. 104.

without stopping, till they reached the place where they had encamped the day before. In the mean time, the Greeks remained in the persuasion that the prince had been victorious. None of the king's troops had dared to offer any opposition to their steady courage and military discipline, and they supposed that the prince himself had been equally successful\*.

But the sun was now setting; and the Greeks, wondering that they had neither seen Cyrus, nor received any orders from him, resolved to return to their camp: for they had not had any dinner, and stood in need both of rest and refreshment. When they arrived, they found the baggage plundered, and nearly all the provisions carried off. Most of them were, therefore, obliged to go to rest without any supper; but they consoled themselves by the belief of having gained a complete victory†.

The generals assembled at day-break, still wondering that they received no news of

\* Mitford, p. 200, &c.

† Ib. 202.

Cyrus. To put an end to this painful uncertainty, they resolved to go in search of him; and, by the time the sun had risen, all was ready for marching. Just then two officers of high rank in the Asiatic army arrived, bringing the sad intelligence of the fate of Cyrus. They added, that Ariæus had conducted the remaining troops to the place of their last encampment, where he would wait that day for the Greeks, but had resolved to set out on the morrow for Ionia\*. The generals and the rest of the Greeks, hearing this, were greatly afflicted. However, they would not immediately give up their lofty expectations. Clearchus, recovering from his astonishment, said, "Would to God Cyrus was alive! but, since he is dead, let Ariæus know that we have overcome the king, and, as you see, meet with no further resistance. At the same time, assure Ariæus from us, that if he will come hither, we will place him upon the throne; for those who

\* Mitford, p. 203.

gain the victory, gain with it a right to command\*." This is another of the dangerous consequences of war. Victorious soldiers, with arms in their hands, are too apt to think that "might makes right." Avarice and ambition were doubtless the motives which induced the Greeks to make this offer. They had been looking forward to the enjoyment of riches and power, in case Cyrus had been successful; and they flattered themselves that these might still be obtained from the gratitude of Ariæus, if, by their means, he should be placed upon the throne†.

Two of the Grecian generals returned with the Persian officers, to bring back the answer of Ariæus. While they were gone, the victorious Greeks were reduced to the necessity of killing their beasts of burden for food, and of breaking up the empty and useless baggage-waggons for fuel. They also collected, for this purpose, Persian arrows, darts, and wooden shields, which were scattered in immense numbers over the field

\* Spelman, p. 115.

† Mitford, p. 204.



of battle. They were all very busy in these employments, when some heralds arrived, demanding, in the name of the king and of Tissaphernes, to speak with the generals. They brought a haughty message, stating, that the king required the Greeks to come and surrender their arms at his gate, and said, that on no other condition would he show them favour or mercy. Imagine what a damp this threw upon their spirits! Just before, in the pride of victory, they looked upon themselves as arbiters of the fate of Persia: now they were addressed as slaves and prisoners. How desirable is that steady equanimity which is not only capable of judging of the present, but prepared to meet the future! The restless, lively imagination of the Greeks, as soon as one bright vision had sunk in darkness, employed itself in painting another; and now, like people who have been elated beyond measure, their spirits became proportionably depressed. The message of the king at once opened their eyes to the sad realities of their situation. The extent of hostile country, the rivers,

the mountains, and the deserts, which must be crossed before they could reach their native land; the uncertainty of assistance from Ariæus; all the dangers of a long retreat, arose in gloomy prospect before them. Some showed signs of despondency; others formed new projects, and were for offering their services to the king; but Cleanor, the Arcadian, the eldest of the generals, could not repress his indignation: "We will sooner die, than deliver up our arms!" exclaimed he. A long discussion followed, in which they found it impossible to agree in opinion, and at length resolved that Clearchus should decide. That bold and politic general answered, in the name of all the Greeks, "If the king desires our friendship, we want our arms for his service: if he means enmity, we want them for our own safety." The messenger promised to deliver this answer faithfully; and then said, he had something further in commission. This was, that while they remained in their present situation, the king granted them a truce; but, if they moved any where else,

he should consider them as enemies. Clearchus immediately replied, "Be it so." "How?" said the messenger. "Truce if we stay, and war if we move," replied Clearchus: nor would he give a more decided answer\*.

Soon after the departure of the king's messengers, the deputies returned from Ariæus, reporting that he declined the offer of assistance in obtaining the Persian throne; but that he was desirous the Greeks should accompany his march back to Ionia, and would, therefore, wait for them in his present camp till the next morning. It was now nearly time to decide, but Clearchus acquainted no one with his resolution. When the sun was set, he assembled the generals and captains, and after pointing out the impossibility of crossing the Tigris without boats, in pursuit of the king, and of remaining where they were without provisions, he informed them that he had consulted the gods by sacrifice, and that the victims were

\* Mitford, p. 204—206.

favourable to the design of joining the friends of Cyrus. He then issued the following orders: "Let every man retire, and sup upon what he has; and when the horn sounds to rest, pack up your baggage: when it sounds a second time, charge the sumpter-horses; and when a third time, follow your leader, and let the baggage march next to the river, and the heavy-armed men cover it."

The generals and captains, hearing this, departed, and did as they were directed; Clearchus having taken upon himself the command of the army. Every body submitted to him; not because he was elected chief, but because they were sensible that *he* alone was equal to the office, the rest of the generals being without experience\*.

As soon as it was dark, three hundred foot soldiers, and forty horse, all Thracians, deserted to the king. Clearchus conducted the rest, in the manner he had appointed; and, about midnight, they arrived at the camp of Ariæus. The men were drawn up,

\* Spelman, p. 123—125.

and stood to their arms, while the generals and captains went in a body to the tent of Ariæus, where both he and they, with the most considerable men about him, took an oath not to betray one another, and to become allies. The Asiatics also swore to conduct the Greeks without deceit. This was the substance of their oath, which was, as usual on important occasions, preceded by a sacrifice: the victims were a boar, a bull, a wolf, and a ram, whose blood being all mixed together in the hollow of a shield, the Greeks dipped their swords into it, and the Asiatics their spears. When they had thus pledged their faith, Clearchus said: "Since, O Ariæus, your route and ours are the same, say what is your opinion concerning our march? Shall we return the same way we came, or have you thought of any other more convenient?" Ariæus answered: "If we return the same way we came, we shall all perish with hunger; since we are now entirely destitute of provisions. Though the way we now propose to take is longer, yet we shall be in no want. We must make

our first marches as long as ever we can; for if we can once gain two or three days' march of the king, it will not, after that, be in his power to overtake us. 'This,' said he, "is my opinion\*."

The armies continued together for several days, and every thing seemed to promise peace and good faith. The king then sent Tissaphernes to treat with the Greeks. He promised that they should be safely conducted home, and supplied with provisions on their way. These promises were solemnly confirmed by oath; and when Tissaphernes took leave, he informed the Greeks, that the king had bestowed upon him the extensive government lately enjoyed by Cyrus. He added, that he should require some time to prepare for so long a journey, but would return as soon as possible, and himself conduct them on their way†.

\* Spelman, p. 126—128.

† Mitford, p. 213, &c.



# THE RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND.

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By how much unexpected, by so much  
We must awake endeavour for defence;  
For courage mounteth with occasion.

SHAKSPEARE.

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THOUGH the Greeks and Ariæus still remained together, it appears, from the account of Xenophon, that each party had been intent on making separate terms with the king; and that, at the same time, they had neglected each other. At length coolness prevailed on the side of Ariæus, and suspicion on that of the Greeks, to whom the hours appeared to pass very heavily, during twenty days which they waited for Tissaphernes\*.

At length he arrived with his forces.

\* Mitford, vol. v. p. 215.

This was to be the signal for departure, and they set out accordingly: the satrap leading the way, and providing a market, at which the Greeks might obtain a supply of provisions. Ariæus marched at the head of the barbarians who had served under Cyrus, and encamped with Tissaphernes and Orontas the satrap of Armenia, each of whom commanded a numerous army. The Greeks, who felt very suspicious of the barbarians, marched by themselves, having guides to conduct them. They always formed a separate encampment, three or four miles from the Asiatics, who were also on their guard against the Greeks, as if they had been enemies. Sometimes quarrels arose between the foraging parties, which increased their mutual distrust. The Greeks, observing the good terms on which Ariæus appeared to be with the king's officers, believed, that a report which they had heard, that he had obtained a pardon for having joined in the late rebellion, was well founded; and this increased their suspicions\*.

\* Mitford, ib. and 216.



In three days the army reached the wall of Media, a fortified line, intended, like the Picts' wall erected by the Romans in England, or the immense wall of China, to defend a whole country against the incursions of barbarians. The wall of Media was built of brick. It was twenty feet thick, and one hundred feet high. Its length is said to have been seventy miles\*.

In two days more, after crossing some canals, they came to the river Tigris. Here they encamped close to a populous city called Sitace, and near a large and beautiful park, thickly shaded with a great variety of trees. The barbarian camp was on the other side of the Tigris, out of sight of the Greeks. After supper, as Proxenus and his young friend were walking before the tents, a stranger approached the outguards, and asked to speak with Proxenus or Clearchus. When Proxenus told him that he was the person, the man said, Ariæus had sent him to give information that the barbarians in-

\* Mitford, p. 216.

tended to attack them that night, and also to break down the bridge over the Tigris, that the Greeks might be shut in between the river and the canal. The generals paid but little regard to this message, believing it was only a contrivance of the Persians to hasten them forward; for if the Greeks had chosen to take possession of the fertile country, enclosed like an island, between the canal and the Tigris, they might probably have maintained themselves there, in defiance of the whole force of the empire. The Greeks, who had no desire to remain in Persia, entertained no such project: they went quietly to rest, and passed the night without interruption. In the morning they were again alarmed by intelligence that they would be attacked while passing the river; but this proved as groundless as the former report, and they passed the bridge, which was supported by thirty-seven boats, without any difficulty\*.

In the map to which we have referred, the

\* Spelman, p. 145—150.

returning track of the Greeks is drawn in a northerly direction from the field of battle. After crossing the line, which represents the wall of Media, it passes through the fertile district between the canal and the Tigris, which the Persians were so much afraid that the Greeks would seize for their own. After having crossed the river by the bridge of boats, they still proceeded towards the north, along the left bank of the Tigris.

Nothing remarkable happened during a march of four days, when they reached a large town called Opis. Soon afterwards they entered a desert of such extent, that they were six days in crossing it. They then arrived at some villages belonging to Parysatis: here Tissaphernes gave the Greeks leave to plunder, but not to seize the inhabitants\*. These poor villagers had the misfortune to be the slaves of Parysatis, and were punished for the share which she had taken in the plot of Cyrus. This is one

\* Mitford, p. 217, &c.

of the evils of war: the humble and the innocent are often forced to bear the miseries caused by the pride and guilt of the powerful.

Another desert offered a weary march of five days, always keeping near the river. The armies then reached a more plentiful country, watered by the river Zabatus, and halted for three days to refresh themselves. In this time of leisure the mutual ill-will of the Greeks and Persians showed itself more than ever, and made Clearchus very uneasy. He could not, however, discover any thing that appeared like a design against the Greeks, nor any probable cause for that jealousy which the Persians evidently felt, and which irritated the Greeks against them. He was the more uneasy, because he had reason to distrust one of his own generals, Menon, a faithless and ambitious man, who, not concealing his dislike of the superiority of Clearchus, (to whose experience and abilities the other generals cheerfully submitted,) had endeavoured to withdraw the affection and respect of the soldiers from their chief.

Besides this, Menon was very intimate with Ariæus, and had been by him introduced to Tissaphernes; while the circumstances of the meeting, and the conversation that had passed in it, were unknown\*. After revolving these painful thoughts in his mind, Clearchus resolved to request an interview with Tissaphernes, that he might, if possible, put an end to these jealousies, before they broke out into open hostility. He therefore sent to let Tissaphernes know, that he desired to speak with him. A conference was readily granted, and Clearchus spoke as follows: "I am sensible, O Tissaphernes! that we have sworn and pledged our faith not to do any injury to one another. Notwithstanding which, I observe you are upon your guard against us, as against an enemy; and we, perceiving this, stand also upon our guard. As I am of opinion that mistakes are easiest removed by conferences, I come with an intention of convincing you, that you have no reason to distrust us; for, to men-

\* Mitford, p. 218.

tion that first, which is of the greatest consequence, our oaths, to which we have called the gods to witness, forbid us to be enemies; and that person who is conscious to himself of having neglected them, in my opinion, can never be happy. For, whoever becomes the object of divine wrath, I know no swiftness can save him—no darkness hide him—no strong place defend him; since, in all places, all things are subject to their power, and every where they are equally lords of all. As to human advantages, I look upon you to be the greatest we can have at this juncture; for, while we are with you, every road is pervious, every river passable, and we are sure to know no want; but without you, every road becomes obscure, every river impassable, every multitude terrible, and solitude the most terrible of all, for that is attended with the want of every thing. In these circumstances, therefore, who would be so mad as not to desire to be your friend?" Clearchus then endeavoured to convince Tissaphernes that it was also for his interest to secure the friendship of the

Greeks, at the same time offering to serve him by subduing the Pisidians, or any other people who might rebel against his government; concluding with these words: "When I consider all these things, I am so much surprised to find you diffident of us, that I would willingly know the person who is so powerful an orator, as to persuade you that we form designs against you \*."

Tissaphernes, in his reply, endeavoured to convince Clearchus, that if he had desired to destroy the Greeks, they were so much in his power that it might easily be accomplished; but, on the contrary, he was desirous of cultivating their friendship, and proving his faithfulness to them. He added, that he considered it most for his own interest to be upon good terms with them. Clearchus, thinking all he said was true, replied: "Since, therefore, we have so many motives to be friends, do not those, who by calumnies endeavour to make us enemies, deserve the severest punishment?"

\* Spelman, p. 151—155.

“If you,” said Tissaphernes “with the rest of the generals and captains, will come to me in public, I will acquaint you with those who say that you have designs against me and my army.” “I will bring them all,” answered Clearchus, “and let you know, in my turn, whence I received my information concerning you.” When the conference was over, Tissaphernes pressed Clearchus to stay and sup with him\*. Now the circumstance of eating together, was considered by the ancient Greeks and Persians, as it now is by the Arabs, to bind friendship by a sacred tie†; and when Clearchus returned to the camp, it was evident that he thought very favourably of Tissaphernes‡. He assembled the principal Grecian officers, and related what had passed between himself and the satrap. The generals strongly objected to the proposal now made to them, and said that it was very imprudent to risk all the generals and captains together in the barba-

\* Spelman, p. 156—158.

† Mitford, p. 212.

‡ Spelman, p. 159.



rian camp, on the faith of a man who was known to be so perfidious. Clearchus, however, urged the point so vehemently, that at length he prevailed on four of the generals, Menon, Proxenus, Agias, and Socrates, and also twenty captains, to accompany him. They were followed by about two hundred inferior officers and soldiers, who, under pretence of marketing, went to gratify their curiosity. On arriving at the tent of Tissaphernes, the generals were immediately admitted; the others waited without. Presently a signal was observed, and instantly the generals within the tent were seized, while those who waited for them on the outside were massacred. Then a body of barbarian horse issued from the camp, scoured the plain, and killed all the Greeks they met with, both freemen and slaves\*.

The Greeks who remained in the camp, had no suspicion of the terrible event which had just taken place. They were, however, astonished and alarmed, by observing the

\* Mitford, p. 218, &c.

violence which the Persian horse were committing in the plain. At this moment an Arcadian, who had followed the generals, arrived, miserably wounded, and gave intelligence of what had passed at the tent of Tissaphernes. The Greeks immediately ran to arms, expecting that their camp would be assaulted. Happily, this was not the case; but Ariæus, with some other Persians, who had been the friends of Cyrus, approached, and desired the remaining generals and captains to come out and receive a message from the king. Cheirisophus, (the Lacedæmonian who had joined Cyrus at Issus,) was accidentally absent with a foraging party, and there were only two generals left in the camp: these obeyed the summons, and went out, accompanied by Xenophon, who was anxious to gain some intelligence of his friend Proxenus. They advanced very cautiously, and stopped as soon as they were within hearing\*. Ariæus then spoke to them as follows: " Clearchus,

\* Mitford, p 221.

O Greeks! having been found guilty of violating both his oath and the articles of peace, is justly punished with death; while Proxenus and Menon, for having given information of his treasonable designs, are in great honour. Of you the king demands your arms, for he says they are his, as having belonged to Cyrus, who was his subject\*.

Cleanor, an honest old soldier, but no politician, without considering what might be the consequence of irritating the Persians, exclaimed, "O Ariæus! thou most wicked of all men, and the rest of you who were friends to Cyrus! have you no regard either to the gods or to men? You, who after you have sworn to us to look upon our friends and enemies as your own, now conspire with Tissaphernes, the most impious and deceitful of all men, to betray us, and having both destroyed those persons to whom you gave your oaths, and deceived the rest of us, now come with our enemies

\* Spelman, p. 161.

to invade us!" To this, Arisæus replied: "But it first appeared that Clearchus was forming designs against Tissaphernes, Orontas, and the rest of us\*!" Xenophon, seeing that no person in authority appeared capable of managing the conference to advantage, ventured to speak†. "If Clearchus," said he, "contrary to his oath, has been guilty of a violation of the peace, he is justly punished; for it is just that those who are guilty of perjury, should be put to death. However, send Proxenus and Menon to us, since they are both your benefactors, and our commanders; for it is evident, that being friends to both of us, they will endeavour to advise that which is the best for both." To this the Persians made no answer; but having conferred together for a considerable time, they departed‡.

\* Spelman, p. 162, &c.

† Mitford, p. 222.

‡ Spelman, p. 163.

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*Note.*—The Greeks appear to have been, for a long time, ignorant of the fate of their generals; and Xeno-

On that melancholy evening, but few soldiers attended the parade; few fires were lighted; many touched no food, nor even entered their tents, but threw themselves on the ground, not to sleep, but to reflect on their forlorn situation. Xenophon shared the general affliction; but his mind was not overwhelmed by it. He considered that great difficulties are to be surmounted by great exertions. While he anxiously waited to see what measures would be taken by the remaining generals, he observed, with deep concern, that instead of exerting themselves

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phon has not said how he received the account which he has given as certain. But, according to his report, they were all carried to the king, by whose orders they were beheaded, except Menon, who did not then lose his life, though equally guilty of assisting Cyrus. Neither was he at last beheaded, like the rest, which was looked upon as the most honourable death; but after being tortured, and confined for a year, he was executed like an ordinary criminal\*. Those who are themselves perfidious, dislike and punish treachery in others.

\* Mitford, p. 222; and Spelman, p. 172.

in proportion to the emergency, they yielded to a despondency which made them neglect all precaution. Every one expected that at day-break the Persians would attack the camp, yet no council was held, no orders were given, no preparation of any kind was made\*. Oppressed by these uneasy reflections, Xenophon was for some time restless and wakeful; at length he fell asleep, and dreamed that it thundered, and that lightning falling upon the house of his father, set it in a blaze. He awoke in a fright, but considered his dream as a happy omen, in one respect; because, while he was in a situation of danger and difficulty, he saw a great light proceeding from Jupiter; on the other hand, he was afraid that as this dream was sent by Jupiter, the king of the gods, the fire appearing to blaze all round him, might portend that he should not be able to get out of the king's territories, but would be surrounded on all sides with difficulties†. These contradictory thoughts filled him

\* Mitford, p. 226, &c.

† Spelman, p. 178.

with perplexity. He meditated for awhile on his dream, and then his thoughts took another direction. "Why do I lie here?" said he to himself: "the night wears away, and as soon as day appears, the enemy will probably attack us. Yet no one makes preparation for defence, or takes any care about it; but here we lie, as if we were allowed to live in quiet. From what city do I expect a general to perform these things? What age do I wait for? If I abandon myself to the enemy this day, I shall never live to see another." Roused by this consideration, he sprang from his bed, and called together the captains who had served under Proxenus. "Fellow soldiers!" said he, "I can neither sleep, nor lie any longer, when I consider the condition to which we are reduced. For it is plain the enemy would not have declared war against us, had they not first made the necessary preparations; while, on our side, none takes any care how we may resist them in the best manner possible. If we are remiss, and fall under the

power of the king, what have we to expect from him, who cut off the head and hand of his own brother, even after he was dead, and fixed them upon a stake\*?" He then endeavoured to convince them how urgent was the necessity for immediately choosing a successor to the general whom they had lost. For himself, he said, that he was ready to do his best in any situation, and would either command or obey, as they thought he could be the most useful. With regard to the prospect before them, he observed that it depended on themselves to make it good or bad; for he was confident that energy and prudence united, might carry them through all their difficulties†.

At this period Xenophon was about five and twenty‡, and, as we have said, had no command in the army, where he was only known as the friend of Proxenus. It was a bold undertaking for so young a man, with no friends to support him, to attempt rous-

\* Spelman, p. 178—180.

† Mitford, p. 228.

‡ Ib. p. 330, &c.



ing the generals and the whole army from their despondency; but it is in moments of difficulty that strong minds, feeling and exerting their own powers, astonish and govern their companions by the fertility of resource and invention which they display.

When Xenophon had finished speaking, all the captains, except one, requested him to take the command upon himself. This man, whose name was Apollonides, affected to speak in the Bœotian dialect: he advised them to throw themselves upon the king's mercy, and began to recount the difficulties of their situation. Xenophon interrupted him with indignation, and said that "he was a disgrace to the Grecian name." After some further discussion, it was found that Apollonides was not a Greek, and he was immediately deprived of his command\*.

The next step was to call a council of all the remaining generals and captains. When they were assembled, their number amounted to about a hundred, who placed them-

\* Spelman, p. 182—184.

selves before the quarter where the heavy-armed men lay encamped. It was now nearly midnight, and Hieronymus of Elis, the oldest of the captains who had served under Proxenus, addressed them thus: Fellow soldiers! we have thought proper, in the present juncture, both to assemble ourselves and call you together, to the end we may, if possible, consider of something to our advantage. Do you, O Xenophon! represent to them what you have laid before us \*."

Thus called upon, Xenophon opened the business of the meeting. After enforcing the necessity for exertion, and the effect which their example must have upon the men, he recommended them to appoint generals and captains in place of those who were slain, and then to assemble and encourage the soldiers. "For," said he, "no doubt you must have observed, as well as I, how dejectedly they came to their quarters, and how heavily they went upon guard; so that

\* Spelman, p. 185.

while they are in this disposition, I do not know what service can, either by night or by day, be expected from them. They have at present nothing before their eyes but sufferings: if any one could turn their thoughts to action, it would greatly encourage them. For you know that neither numbers nor strength give the victory, but that side which, with the assistance of the gods, attacks with the greatest resolution, is generally irresistible. As, therefore, we are sensible of these things, it behoves us at this critical juncture, both to act with courage ourselves, and to exhort the rest to do the same."

Then Cheirisophus, the Lacedæmonian, said: "Before this time, O Xenophon! I knew no more of you, than that you were an Athenian; but now, I commend both your words and actions, and wish we had many in the army like you, for it would be a general good. And now, fellow soldiers! let us lose no time: those of you who want commanders, depart immediately and choose them; when that is done, come into the mid-

dle of the camp, and bring them with you. After that, we will call the rest of the soldiers hither \*."

From this speech of Cheirisophus, we may fairly conclude that Xenophon was careful, by his modesty and discretion, to prevent that jealousy which his abilities might otherwise have excited, in those who were so much superior to himself in years and experience.

After this Timasion was chosen general in the room of Clearchus, Zanthicles instead of Socrates, Cleanor instead of Agias, Philesius in the room of Menon, and Xenophon in that of Proxenus.

As soon as the election was over, it being then near break of day, the officers advanced to the middle of the camp, appointed the outguard, and then assembled the army. Cheirisophus spoke first, and addressed them thus: "Soldiers! we are at present under great difficulties. However, we ought to emerge from these circumstances like brave men, and not be cast down; but en-

\* Spelman, p. 185—188.

deavour to redeem ourselves by a glorious victory. If that is impossible, let us die with honour, and never fall alive under the power of the enemy."

Cleanor next reminded the soldiers of the perfidy of Tissaphernes and Ariæus, and then said: "It behoves us, who have these things before our eyes, not only to take care that these men do not again betray us, but also to fight with all possible bravery, and submit to what the gods shall determine." Then Xenophon rose up, dressed for the war in the most splendid armour he could provide; for he thought, if the gods granted him victory, these ornaments would become a conqueror; and, if he were to die, they would decorate his fall. While he was encouraging the soldiers to hope for a favourable termination of their difficulties, one of the company sneezed. This was one of those unexpected accidents which the ancients considered as ominous, and all the soldiers at once adored the god. Then Xenophon said, "Since, O soldiers! while we were speaking of safety, Jupiter the Preserver

sent us an omen, I think we ought to make a vow to offer sacrifice to this god, in thanksgiving for our preservation, in that place where we first reach the territories of our friends; and also to the rest of the gods, in the best manner we are able. Whoever, then, is of this opinion, let him hold up his hand." And they all held up their hands; then made their vows, and sung the Pæan\*.

It is said that no ancient writer has insisted more on the necessity of consulting the gods by auguries and oracles, than Xenophon†. In this respect, he differs very much from his countryman, Thucydides, who never pretended to have any faith in such things. Neither are we sure that Xenophon really believed them. Perhaps, as he saw the religion of the Greeks did not restrain them from committing wicked actions, he might endeavour to support the credit of a superstition which could sometimes be employed for good purposes, and fre-

\* Spelman, p. 188—192.

† Rollin, tom. v. p. 20.

quently afforded an easy means of governing the ignorant multitude. On this account, it is possible that he said more, on the subject of auguries, than he really thought; and the presence of mind with which he availed himself of the trifling accident above mentioned, at a moment when it was so necessary to revive the spirits of the soldiers, strengthens this supposition.

From a state of utter despondency, the army was thus excited to hope and cheerfulness. The soldiers gladly received permission to take from the inhabitants of the rich country they were going to traverse, whatever they desired to possess\*. In order to lighten their march as much as possible, Xenophon persuaded them to burn their waggons and their tents. Those who possessed more baggage than they needed, gave their superfluities to others who were in want. They threw the rest into the fire, and then went to dinner. While they were

\* Mitford, p. 232.

eating, Mithridates advanced with about thirty horse; and desiring the generals to come within hearing, he said, "O Greeks! I was faithful to Cyrus, as you yourselves know, and now wish well to you; and do assure you, that while I remain here, I am under great apprehensions. So, that if I saw you taking salutary resolutions, I would come over to you, and bring all my people with me. Inform me, therefore, of what you resolve; for I am your friend and well-wisher, and desire to join you in your march." The generals had now learned caution by experience. They consulted together; and this is the answer they thought proper to return, Cheirisophus speaking in the name of the rest: "We resolve, if we are suffered to return home, to march through the country with as little damage as possible; but, if any one opposes our march, to fight our way through in the best manner we are able." Mithridates then endeavoured to show them how impossible it would be to return in safety, without the king's consent. This rendered him suspected. Besides, a person belonging



to Tissaphernes was observed in his company\*, and therefore the conference was abruptly closed†.

As soon as the soldiers had dined, the army passed the river Zabatus, marching in order of battle. They were arranged in the form of a hollow square, with the baggage, and those who took care of it, in the centre‡. None of the generals appear to have been appointed to the office of commander-in-chief; but the superior abilities and eloquence of Xenophon, gave him so much influence in the council, that he, in great measure, directed their proceedings. Cheirisophus being a Lacedæmonian, was intrusted with the command of the front, as the most honourable station. The older generals took charge of the flanks; and Timasion and Xenophon, who were the two youngest, brought up the rear§. The army, marching in this order, had proceeded but a little way, before Mithridates again made

\* Spelman, p. 204, &c.

† Mitford, p. 234.

‡ Spelman, p. 206.

§ Mitford, p. 233.

his appearance, with but two hundred horse, and four hundred archers and slingers. He approached as if with friendly intentions; but, when he came near, his men discharged arrows and stones, and wounded some of the Greeks, who were unable to return the assault, because their bows would not carry so far as those of the Persians. Xenophon therefore resolved to pursue Mithridates; but his heavy-armed men and targeteers were all on foot, and could not overtake the enemy. The barbarian horse wounded them as they fled, shooting backwards as they were riding away; and as far as the Greeks were advanced in the pursuit, so far were they obliged to retreat fighting. In the evening, when they arrived at the villages where they intended to encamp, the troops again appeared to be disheartened; and Cheirisophus united with the elder generals in blaming Xenophon for leaving the main body to pursue the enemy, and exposing himself without any possibility of hurting them\*.

\* Spelman, p. 206, &c.

Xenophon heard this, and candidly acknowledged they had reason to blame him, and that they were justified by the event; for he had gained no advantage by pursuing the enemy, and found it very difficult to retreat. But though he made this confession, he was so far from sharing the despondency of the rest, that he asserted the attack they had sustained had been useful instead of injurious, by showing the Greeks what measures were necessary for their future protection. "If we mean," said he, "to hinder the enemy from disturbing our march, we must immediately provide ourselves with slingers and horse." There were some Rhodians in the army, who were expert slingers; and Xenophon proposed offering a reward to them, and others who might unite with them. He also advised selecting from the horses they employed in carrying the baggage, such as were fittest for the purpose; that so they might have a body of horse and slingers in readiness, to repel skirmishing attacks. These things were immediately resolved upon, and the same night two hun-

dred men offered themselves as slingers. The next day horses and horsemen were appointed, to the number of fifty; and they were provided with buff coats and corslets. The command of the horse was given to Lycius, an Athenian\*.

During the night, Nicarchus, an Arcadian captain, deserted to the Persians, with about twenty men. It was supposed that the conference held with Mithridates at dinner-time, by affording an opportunity of corrupting the soldiers, had led to this. The generals, therefore, resolved to grant no more conferences, nor even to receive a message, while they remained in the enemy's country; for they had experienced so many acts of treachery, that they thought their security depended on refusing every kind of intercourse†.

The Greeks halted that day, in order to make the equipment of the slingers and horsemen as complete as possible‡. The next morning they marched earlier than usual;

\* Spelman, p. 207—210. † Mitford, p. 235, &c.

‡ Ib. p. 236.

for they had a valley formed by a torrent to cross, and were afraid the enemy would attack them while they were passing it. They had but just accomplished this, when Mithridates appeared again, with a thousand horse, and four thousand slingers and archers. With this force he had undertaken to deliver the Greeks into the power of Tissaphernes; for having, in the last action, with only a small force, wounded some of Xenophon's men, without receiving any injury in return, he felt a contempt for them. This time, however, the Greeks were better prepared; and when Mithridates came within reach of their slings and arrows, the trumpet sounded, and the targeteers and heavy-armed men, who had previously received the necessary orders, attacked the enemy, the new body of horse charging at the same time. The Persians did not wait to receive them, but immediately fled to the valley. In the pursuit they lost many of their foot-soldiers, and about eighteen of the horse were taken prisoners\*.

\* Spelman, p. 210, &c.

The Greeks marched the rest of that day without interruption, and came to the river Tigris. On its bank stood a large deserted city, called Larissa, which had formerly been inhabited by the Medes. It was surrounded by a wall twenty-five feet thick, and one hundred feet high. Close to the city they observed a pyramid of stone, two hundred feet in height. A great number of the neighbouring villagers, alarmed, probably, by the sight of such large bodies of armed men, had taken refuge in this pyramid. The next day they passed another deserted city called Mespila. On the day following, Tissaphernes appeared with a large army. He approached, but seemed afraid of hazarding a battle; though he ordered his men to annoy the Greeks with their slings and bows. The Rhodian slingers and Cretan archers, returned the attack with such good aim, that Tissaphernes was soon glad to retire out of their reach, and the rest of the Persians followed his example\*.

\* Spelman, p. 212—216.

Fortunately for the Greeks, the Persians, expecting to stop their march either by force or fear, neglected the more certain means of laying waste the country. Had this been done, as the Greeks had no stock of provisions, they must soon have been destroyed by famine. In the villages through which they had already passed, they not only supplied themselves with corn, but found materials for slings, and lead for bullets\*. The Rhodian slingers were accustomed to use, not only stones, but leaden bullets; and these could be thrown to a much greater distance than the large, cumbrous stones used by the Persian slingers†.

The Grecian generals had now gained some experience in conducting their retreat. They found marching in one large square inconvenient, because they were necessarily thrown into confusion when they had to pass narrow defiles or bridges. They therefore divided six hundred men into companies of one hundred each. It was the

\* Mitford, p. 240.

† Spelman, p. 209.

office of these troops to protect the rear on such occasions, and to be ready for any emergency\*.

On the seventh day after their separation from the Persians, the Greeks were cheered by the sight of mountains, lifting their heads above the horizon of that immense plain, over which they had so long been marching, exposed to the attacks of the Persian horsemen, who were more numerous than their whole army. After a while they reached the hills, and entered the valleys which lay between them. The Persian generals, aware that they would no longer be able to annoy the Greeks by attacks of cavalry, sent forward a detachment of archers, to occupy the heights commanding the road; and when the Greeks came up, they suffered exceedingly from the arrows which were thus shot down upon them. They therefore sent a body of targeteers to a height commanding that which was occupied by the enemy. Even the sight of these brave men was suffi-

\* Mitford. p. 241.



cient. The archers\*, and those appointed to make them do their duty, all fled together†.

Thus once more left to themselves, the Greeks continued their march to a neighbouring village, where, for the sake of the wounded, they halted three days. After this rest, they again proceeded through a more level country, where the enemy renewed their skirmishing assaults, which so much distressed the Greeks, encumbered as they were with many wounded men, that, after a short march, they halted at the next village. Encouraged by this, the Persian generals, who had never attempted to attack the Greeks, except while they were marching, resolved to assault them here. But when they made

† *Ib.* p. 242, 244.

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\* *Note.*—These archers were soldiers of the lowest rank, and so much afraid of entering into action, that a guard was appointed to drive them forward, with whips and threats of death, unless they fulfilled the task assigned them.

the attempt, they durst not come near enough to engage in close fight, and they were repulsed with such loss, that they felt no desire to repeat the attack \*.

The Persian generals were very much afraid of being attacked in the night, for their principal force consisted in cavalry, and it took a considerable time for the soldiers to equip themselves and their horses. A night attack would, therefore, have thrown them into terrible confusion; and to prevent all danger of this, it was their custom, while pursuing the Greeks, to withdraw their forces early in the afternoon to a distance of seven or eight miles, where they encamped for the night. The Greeks resolved to take advantage of this, and waited for the afternoon before they would move. When they were satisfied the Persians had really withdrawn for the night, they marched forward so expeditiously, that they saw the enemy no more till the fourth day; when Cheirisophus, who, as has been said, commanded the van-

\* Mitford, p. 244, &c.

guard, was alarmed by the sight of a body of Persians, posted on an eminence commanding the road by which the Greeks were to pass. As soon as he observed this, he sent for Xenophon from the rear, and desired he would bring up the targeteers to the front. But Xenophon, looking round, saw that Tissaphernes was advancing with his whole army. He therefore did not take the targeteers, but rode forward to Cheirisophus, and said: "Why do you send for me?" He replied, "You see the enemy have possessed themselves of the hill that commands the descent, and unless we dislodge them, it is not possible for us to pass. But why did you not bring the targeteers with you?" "Because," said Xenophon, "I did not think it proper to leave the rear exposed, when the enemy was in sight. But it is high time to consider how we shall dislodge those men." As Xenophon said this, he looked attentively at the top of the mountain which was above their own army, and he observed that from thence it would be possible to

reach the hill where the enemy was posted. Seeing this, he said: "O Cheirisophus! I think the best thing we can do, is to gain the top of this mountain as soon as possible; for, if we are once masters of that, the enemy cannot maintain themselves upon the hill. Do you stay with the army, if you think fit; I will go up the hill: or do you go up, if you desire it, and I will stay here." Cheirisophus answered, "I give you your choice." To this Xenophon replied, that as he was the younger man, he chose to go; but desired that he might have some troops from the front, as it would take a great deal of time to bring up a detachment from the rear. So Cheirisophus sent the targeteers that were in front; Xenophon also took those who were in the middle of the square. Besides these, Cheirisophus ordered three hundred chosen men, who usually attended on himself, to follow the young general\*.

They now marched with all possible expedition; the Persians who were upon the

\* Spelman, p. 224, 227.

hill, the moment they saw the Greeks climbing the mountain, advanced themselves, striving to get there first. Then there was a great shout raised, both by the Greeks under Cheirisophus, and by the Persians under Tissaphernes, each army striving to encourage its own men. Xenophon, riding up the mountain by the side of his troops, called out to them: "Soldiers! think you are this minute contending to return to Greece—this minute to see your wives and children. After this momentary labour, we shall go on without any further opposition." A man named Soteridas, answered from the ranks, "We are not upon equal terms, O Xenophon! for you are on horseback, while I am greatly fatigued with carrying my shield!" On some occasions, example has a more powerful effect than reproof: Xenophon probably thought this was one of them, for he leapt from his horse, and thrust the man out of his rank; then taking his shield from him, he marched on in his place, as fast as he could. He happened to have a horseman's corslet on at the time, which encum-

bered him very much; however, he called to those who were before to make haste, and to those behind, who followed with great difficulty, to come up. The rest of the soldiers beat and abused the grumbling Soteridas, and threw stones at him, till they obliged him to take back his shield and march on. Then Xenophon mounted his horse again, and led them on as far as he could; and when it became impossible for his horse to proceed, he dismounted, and hastened forward on foot. At last he accomplished his purpose, and gained the top of the mountain before the enemy arrived.

When the Barbarians saw this, every one fled as he could, and the Greeks remained masters of the eminence. Tissaphernes and Ariæus turned out of the road, and departed another way with their armies; while Cheirisophus, with his men, descended into a fruitful plain, watered by the Tigris, and sprinkled with villages amply stored with provisions. In one of these he encamped; and straggling parties of the Greeks dispersed themselves over the plain, and took many

herds of cattle, while the country people were endeavouring to get them over the river\*.

Hitherto the Persian generals had avoided laying waste the country through which the Greeks were directing their march; but now several villages of this beautiful plain were seen in flames, having been set on fire by the Persian cavalry. Xenophon proposed attacking the burners, as if in defence of their own country; but Cheirisophus answered, "I am not of that opinion. On the contrary, let us also set fire to it ourselves, and by that means they will give over the sooner." They tried the experiment the next day, and set fire to several villages. The Persians offered no interruption, but looked on, wondering what they meant to do next†.

The Greeks had all this time been marching along a great road, which forms the

\* Spelman, p. 227, 229.

† Mitford p. 247; and Spelman, p. 230, &c.

principal communication between Babylon and the northern provinces, and never diverges far from the banks of the Tigris. They were now arrived at the foot of that vast ridge of mountains which, under various names, extends from the Ægean to the Caspian sea. The northern road winds on among these mountains. But two other great roads presented themselves, one leading eastward to Ecbatana and Susa, where the kings of Persia generally resided in spring and summer; the other led westward, across the river, directly to Lydia and Ionia. This was the most desirable road for the Greeks; but the river was so deep, that the longest spear would not reach the bottom. Could they, by any means, have contrived to cross, a large body of horse were seen on the opposite bank, to oppose the passage: while the army under Tissaphernes, watching their rear, would have been ready to fall upon them. They might have sought a passage higher up; but the precipices of the mountain overhung the eastern bank of the river, and made such an attempt impractica-



ble. The next day, therefore, the army turned back to the plain\*.

It was, however, necessary to come to some decision; and while the soldiers were employed in getting provisions, the generals and captains assembled, and ordering the prisoners they had taken to be brought in, inquired of them concerning every country that lay around them. By this means they learned, not only where the roads led which branched off to the east and west; but also, that the road which lay over the mountains, to the north, led to the Carduchians, a warlike nation, who inhabited those mountains, and were not subject to the king. The prisoners also said, that this road, after passing through the country of the Carduchians, entered Armenia, a fertile province, of which Orontas was governor, and whence it would be easy to march which way they pleased. This information decided the question, though the generals kept their intended route secret. However, they offered sacrifice, as

\* Mitford, p. 248; and Spelman, p. 231.

was usual before any important undertaking, that when they found it convenient to set off, they might not be hindered on that account. They commanded the soldiers to eat their supper, and get the baggage in readiness, then all to go to rest, and march on the first order\*.

About the last watch, when so much of the night was left, as to allow them to cross the plain while it was yet dark, the order to march was given, and they came to the mountains by break of day. Cheirisophus commanded the vanguard, with his own people and all the light-armed men; and Xenophon brought up the rear with the heavy-armed. Cheirisophus gained the top before he was perceived by the Persian army, and then led forward; the rest of the Greeks, as they passed the summit, followed him into the villages, which lay dispersed among the recesses of the mountains.

The surprised Carduchians immediately fled, with their wives and children, to the

\* Spelman, p. 232—234.

hills, where they could easily supply themselves with provisions. The Greeks found the houses of these mountaineers well furnished with all sorts of brazen utensils; but they refrained from plunder, neither did they pursue the inhabitants, for they anxiously desired to obtain their friendship, and to be by them safely conducted through this mountainous region. However, they took what provisions they could find; for they were impelled to this by necessity. The Carduchians, on their side, showed no inclination to be on good terms with the strangers, as plainly appeared from this circumstance. The road being narrow, the whole day was occupied in ascending the mountain, and descending again to the villages; so that it was dark when the rear-guard was coming down from the top of mountain. The Carduchians taking advantage of this, attacked the hindmost, and killed and wounded some of them with stones and arrows. Had a greater number of the mountaineers been collected, a considerable part of the army would have been in

danger. The Greeks passed the night in the villages; the Carduchians made fires on the surrounding mountains; and both parties were attentive to each other's proceedings.

As soon as it was day, the generals and captains assembled, and resolved to leave behind them all the baggage-horses they could spare, and to dismiss all the slaves whom they had lately taken; for the great number of horses and slaves retarded their march, and made a larger quantity of provisions necessary. In order to carry this resolution into effect, when the army was marching after dinner, the generals placed themselves in a narrow pass; and, if they saw any thing retained, contrary to the orders which had been given, they took it away\*. Advancing then among the mountains, they found every effort to bring the Carduchians to friendly terms unavailing. For seven days, with but little remission, they were obliged to fight their way; and encountered

\* Spelman, p. 238—240.

far greater difficulties and dangers, than they had experienced in the plains from the cavalry of the Persian king.

And now the autumnal rains fell heavily; while the chillness this occasioned was severely felt, by men who had so lately sustained the heats of an Assyrian summer. The road, always winding through narrow defiles, was often steep, and commanded by precipices; whence, by rolling down fragments of rock, a few men might stop an army. The Carduchians also annoyed them by shooting, from bows of a peculiar construction, arrows three feet long, which were discharged with such force as to pierce both shields and corslets. Through all these difficulties, the courage and discipline of the Greeks enabled them to hold on their way. When they arrived at the towns of the Carduchians, which were all unfortified, they found good houses and plenty of provisions\*.

At length they completed the dangerous passage of the mountains, and reached the

\* Mitford, p. 251.

last villages of the Carduchians; whence they looked down upon a plain watered by the river Centrites, which was two hundred feet broad, and formed the boundary between Armenia and the country of the Carduchians. In these villages the Greeks rested with great satisfaction. They had plenty of provisions; and amused themselves by talking over the difficulties they had undergone. But, as soon as it was day, they found that new dangers and hardships awaited them. On the other side of the river stood a body of horse, completely armed, and ready to oppose their passage. Above them, on a rising ground, was posted a company of foot, armed with long shields and spears. Notwithstanding this formidable array, the Greeks attempted to cross the river; but the water came up above their breasts, and the current was so strong and rapid, that they were obliged to desist, and remained on the bank of the river.

And now, looking back to the mountain where they had spent the preceding night, they saw the same station occupied by a

great number of armed Carduchians, ready to fall upon their rear, if they attempted the passage of the river. All that day, therefore, and the following night, they remained beside the river, in great perplexity. And here Xenophon was comforted by a dream. He thought he was in chains, and that his chains breaking asunder of their own accord, he found himself at liberty, and went wherever he pleased\*. It appears extraordinary that he should attach any importance to a dream, so naturally arising from his perplexed situation; but the Greeks, (instead of regarding dreams as the fancies of a sleeping man, whose memory presents him with a wild assemblage of his *past* thoughts, and images of things that he has seen) always imagined that they referred to the future, and therefore considered them as reasonable causes of hope or fear.

As soon as the first dawn of day appeared, he went to Cheirisophus, and telling him

\* Spelman, p. 255—257.

that he was in hopes all would go well, acquainted him with his dream. Cheirisophus, who doubtless was influenced by the common superstition, was pleased to hear it; and then all the generals who were present offered sacrifice, and the very first victims were favourable. Then the generals and captains ordered the soldiers to get their breakfast. While Xenophon was eating his, two young men came to him; for it was well known that any one might come to him when he was at meals, and even wake him out of his sleep, if they had any thing to communicate respecting the operations of the army. These youths informed him, that while they were getting brushwood for the fire, they saw, on the opposite side of the river, an old man, a woman, and some maid-servants, hiding something that looked like bags full of clothes, in the hollow of a rock. They wished to possess themselves of these clothes, and thought they might venture, as the place was not accessible to the enemy's horse. So they undressed themselves, intending to swim over, but



reached the other side before the water came up to their middle. They took the clothes, and repassed the river in safety.

When Xenophon heard this, he made a libation; that is, poured some wine on the ground in honour of the gods, and as an expression of his gratitude for this favourable change in their circumstances. He ordered wine to be given to the youths, that they might do the same; desiring them to address their prayers to the god who had sent the dream, and discovered the passage to complete their happiness\*. The conduct of Xenophon, on this occasion, affords a useful lesson to many who profess a better religion than that with which he was acquainted. His first feelings on this discovery were those of grateful piety; and till he had expressed them in the manner he had been taught to think acceptable to the Deity, he suspended every other employment. If such was the practice of unenlightened heathens, shall *we* not be inexcusable, if we receive

\* Spelman, p. 257—259.

our numerous blessings without feeling our hearts glow with gratitude to Him who bestows them?

After the libation, Xenophon took the young men to Cheirisophus. When he had heard their report, and consulted the other generals, it was resolved to pass the river at the ford so happily discovered. Cheirisophus first passed over with the vanguard; then the baggage and those who attended it. Half the army remained with Xenophon, who engaged the attention of the enemy, by appearing as if he intended to pass the river at the place they had before attempted; but when he saw that Cheirisophus had gained the other side, and was marching against the enemy, who fled at his approach, he returned in all haste to the place where the baggage was crossing; for the Carduchians were now seen descending from the mountain, as if they designed to fall upon the rear. Though Xenophon faced about, and drew up his remaining troops against them, those fierce barbarians, who saw that only a small number of Greeks were left on their side of the

river, advanced rapidly, singing as they came on.

Cheirisophus seeing this, and being no longer in any danger, sent his targeteers, slingers, and archers, to Xenophon, with orders to do whatever he commanded. Now, when Xenophon saw them coming, he sent a messenger to bid them halt as soon as they reached the river; and that, when they saw him begin to pass the river with his men, they should come forward in the water, on each side opposite to him; the darters with their fingers in the slings of their darts, and the archers with their arrows on the string, as if they designed to pass over; but they were not to advance far into the river.

His next care was to give directions to his own people, who were drawn up facing the Carduchians, the hindmost men of every file being on the bank of the river. These then were his orders:—When the enemy were within reach of the slingers, the heavy-armed men were to strike their shields with their pikes, sing the Pæan, and rush forward

to the charge. When, by this means, the enemy were put to flight, the trumpet was to sound from the river; and at that signal, the Greeks were to face about to the right, the hindmost men of every file leading the way. They were then to pass the river as quickly as possible, in their ranks, that they might not crowd or hinder one another. Xenophon added, that he should consider him the bravest man, who first reached the opposite side\*.

It happened as Xenophon expected. The Carduchians did not stand the charge; and, when the trumpet sounded, they fled much faster than before. The Greeks then faced about, and passed the river as they had been ordered†.

The passage of the river Centrites being thus happily effected, and the formidable mountaineers left behind, the Greeks pursued their way uninterruptedly, over a beautiful country. They marched for sixteen or eighteen miles without passing a single

\* Spelman, p. 259—265.

† Ib. p. 266.

habitation; for the Persian government was either too weak, or too negligent, to protect its subjects from the incursions of the Carduchians. In the evening they came to a large village, where the satrap had a palace; and here they found abundance of provisions.

From this village they marched forward for five days, expecting, but not meeting with opposition. On the sixth day they came to the river Teleboas, where they found Teribazus, the governor of that part of Armenia, with an army. He was, however, as little inclined to stand the charge of a body of heavy-armed Greeks, as the rest of his countrymen; and sent a message to the generals, promising, that if they, in passing through his country, would refrain from useless devastation, their march should be unmolested, and they should be allowed to take what provisions were necessary for their support. To this proposal the Greeks gladly acceded, and a treaty was quickly concluded between them and Teribazus.

The march of the next three days was

therefore through a friendly country, though Teribazus with his army followed at a little distance, watching their motions. And now, gradually ascending to a more elevated region, they reached the plains which surround the sources of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Here they experienced a sudden change of temperature, which probably they little expected, when, on the banks of the Zabatus, they burned their tents\*.

While they slept unsheltered on the ground, there fell so great a quantity of snow, that it covered the men; and the baggage-horses were so benumbed with cold, that it was with difficulty they were made to rise. It was a miserable sight to see the poor soldiers thus lying on the snow; but when they saw Xenophon so hardy as to rise naked, and cleave wood for the fire, immediately another got up, took the wood from him, and clove it himself. Then they all rose up, made fires, and anointed their bodies with oils and turpentine, to defend them from the effects of the cold†.

\* Mitford, p. 253—255.      † Spelman p. 271.

The good understanding with Teribazus was now by some means interrupted, and the Greeks received intelligence from a prisoner, that the governor intended to attack them in a defile among the mountains, through which their road lay. They resolved to prevent this by attacking the enemy's camp; and immediately a detachment set out for that purpose, taking the prisoner as a guide. The Barbarians fled as soon as they heard the shouts of the Grecian targeteers, who rushed forward to the assault. Some of the Persians were killed, and about twenty horses taken; also the tent of Teribazus, with its rich furniture, and some of his servants. Content with this success, the Grecian generals ordered a retreat to be sounded, and returned to their former station\*.

The next day they resolved to march with all the haste they could, lest Teribazus should rally his troops and possess himself of the defile. They set forward through a

\* Ib, p. 272, &c.

deep snow, with many guides, and passed through the defile that day. For the three following days they marched through a desert, and came to the river Euphrates, which they crossed, the water coming up to their middle. It was said that the source of the river was not far off. For three days more, they suffered greatly in crossing a plain covered with a deep snow, and exposed to the piercing cold of the north wind, which blew violently\*. The sufferings of the Greeks during these marches, were very much increased by their ignorance: wholly unaccustomed to such a climate, they did not know how to manage. It is said that in America, when travellers have occasion to cross vast tracks of desert country covered with deep snow, their first business, when they halt for the night, is to clear away the snow, for a space large enough to receive the fire and the party that is to sleep round it. Then they rest on the ground, and the rampart of snow shelters them on all sides

\* Ibid. p. 274.



from the wind. But the Greeks lighted their fires on the surface, and lay there themselves, exposed to the violence of the wind\*.

From the severity of the cold, many of the slaves and baggage horses died, and about thirty of the soldiers. They made fires all night, where they halted; for they found plenty of wood, and the snow melting under the fires that were kindled, formed large pits reaching down to the ground: this afforded an opportunity of measuring the snow, and they found it six feet deep†.

Still they resolutely marched forward, though sometimes they were forced to leave some of the men behind, who were quite disabled by the severity of the cold; some lost their toes, others their sight. One party, resisting all the persuasions of Xenophon, sat down upon the ground, and remained there till the next morning. That day they reached some villages, and, happily for them, met with a friendly reception.

\* Mitford, p. 257.

† Spelman, p. 274, &c.

The houses of these people were built underground, the entrance resembling the mouth of a well, but spacious below. There was also an entrance dug for the cattle, but the inhabitants descended by ladders. In these houses were goats, sheep, cows, and fowls, with their young, for all the animals were maintained within doors\*.

Though these precautions against the cold were necessary in winter, the country was far from barren. The Greeks found plenty of provisions, and wheaten bread. Wine was not the produce of the climate; but its place was supplied by beer, which Xenophon commends, calling it *barley wine*. The inhabitants of this country had but little communication with the other subjects of Persia, and believing the confident assertion of the Greeks, that they were the king's troops, they received them as such, and entertained them with the utmost respect and kindness†.

After they had staid here for eight days,

\* Ib. p. 277—280.      † Mitford, p. 258.

and recovered a little from their fatigues, they set out again, taking with them the bailiff, or magistrate, of one of the villages, as guide. They travelled for three days, without coming to any villages. Cheirisophus was very impatient on this account, and at last grew quite angry with the guide. The poor man, in his defence, alleged that there were no villages in that part of the country. Cheirisophus, still more angry, struck him. This so much offended the guide, that he escaped in the night, though he left his son in the power of the Greeks. Xenophon was very much vexed with the behaviour of Cheirisophus on this occasion; and it caused the only disagreement that happened between those two generals during the whole march. He was probably the more concerned at the ill treatment of the bailiff, because he had himself lodged in his house, during their stay in the Armenian villages, and had been on very friendly terms with him\*.

\* Spelman, p. 284, &c.

The army soon after reached the river Phasis, and for seven days directed their march along its banks. In two days more, they came to the defiles which lead from the lofty plains of Armenia to a lower line of country, extending between the Caspian and the Euxine seas. In these defiles the natives attempted to stop their progress; but the superior military knowledge of the Greeks, enabled them to force their way with but little loss. In the plain beyond, they found some villages abundantly supplied with provisions.

Soon after this, they travelled for seven days through the country of the Chalybes, a people distinguished from the Asiatics, with whom the Greeks had become acquainted, by having courage to engage in close fight. The Chalybes removed every thing from their villages, so that the Greeks could obtain no supply of provisions while they remained in their country. Again they marched for four days, and arrived at a large and wealthy city called Gymnias. The governor, probably wishing to get rid of such trouble-

some guests, sent a guide forward with them, who engaged (at the peril of his life, should he fail) to show them the sea in five days \*. On the fifth they arrived at a mountain called Theches, up which the army marched. When the van-guard reached the summit, they beheld with joy the distant waters of the Euxine, and they gave such a shout, that Xenophon, and those who were with him in the rear, concluded that some new enemy had attacked the army in front. The noise still increasing as they approached nearer, and the men, as fast as they gained the summit, running forward to those who still continued shouting, and joining in their cries, Xenophon, thinking something extraordinary must have happened, mounted on horseback, and taking Lycius and his party of horse with him, rode on to assist those, who, as he supposed, were shouting for help. Presently they heard the cause of the tumult, and distinguished those joyful words, THE SEA! THE SEA! And now they all set

\* Mitford, p. 259—261.

off running, the rear guard as well as the rest, while the beasts of burden were driven hastily forward. When all had gained the top of the mountain, they embraced each other, and also their generals and captains, with tears in their eyes. Immediately the men, by whose order nobody knew, bringing together a great many stones, made a large mount, or barrow, on which they placed a great number of shields, staves, and bucklers, taken from the enemy. The guide was then liberally rewarded. He pointed out a distant village which would afford them a convenient resting-place, gave directions for their journey to the country of the Macrones, and, taking leave, set out on his return the same night\*.

The next day their progress was stopped by a river: on the right was a steep eminence, and on the left another river; but the way of the Greeks lay straight forward, into the country of the Macrones. The banks of this stream were covered with trees; not

\* Spelman, p. 302.

arrived at the mountains of the Colchians. Here they met with some opposition, but, as usual, forced their way, and ascending the mountain, encamped in the villages, which abounded with provisions.

From thence, after a march of two days, they arrived at Trapezus, now called Trebisond, a city inhabited by a colony of Greeks. They here met with that friendly reception which they justly hoped to experience from a people acknowledging the same ancestors, speaking the same language, and professing the same religion. Here they were supplied with a market in their camp, which was on a mountain by the sea-side. The inhabitants also made them presents of oxen, barley-meal, and wine.

And now, after all their hardships and difficulties, being safely arrived in a friendly country, they recollected the vow they had made on the banks of the Zabatus, and prepared a sacrifice to the gods: particularly to Jupiter the Preserver, and to Hercules, to whose protection they considered themselves peculiarly indebted.

When the sacrifice was over, they celebrated games after the Grecian manner, consisting of trials of strength, and skill in running, wrestling, and boxing. These games were played on the mountain where they were encamped. All was life and gaiety; for many entered the lists, and, as their friends were spectators, there was great emulation. The course was run by boys, most of whom were prisoners; the long course, by more than sixty Cretans. Horses also ran: they were obliged to run down to the sea, and turning there, to come up again to the altar. In the descent many of them rolled down the hill; but when they had to come up again, the ascent was so steep, that the horses could scarcely get on in a foot pace. When the spectators saw this, they shouted, and laughed, and animated their friends\*.

We have now given the account of this wonderful journey, as related by Xenophon, who shared the difficulties of which he has left us so interesting a description. The

\* Spelman, p. 302—313.



large, but growing so close together, that it was necessary to cut many of them down, to give a free passage to the army. On the opposite bank stood a party of Macrones, drawn up to oppose them. They were armed with bucklers and spears, and wore vests made of hair. They threw stones into the river; but, as they did not reach the Greeks, they did no harm.

One of the targeteers, who was not a Greek by birth, but had been taken to Athens as a slave, was on the bank of the river with others; while he was observing the Macrones, he heard them speaking to each other, and understood what they said. He went immediately to Xenophon, and told him of this, adding: "If I am not mistaken, this is my own country; and if there is no objection, I will speak to the people." Xenophon replied, "There is none; so speak to them, and first inquire what people they are." The strangers understood the question of the targeteer, and answered that they were Macrones. "Ask them," said Xeno-

phon, "why they are drawn up against us, and seek to be our enemies?" To this they answered, "Because you invade our country." The generals then ordered the targeteer to let his countrymen know, that no injury was intended to them; but that the Greeks having made war against the king, were now returning to their own country, and desirous of reaching the sea. The Macrones asked, "Whether they were willing to give assurance of this." The Greeks replied: "We are willing both to give and take it." Upon this the Macrones gave the Greeks a spear, and received one from them in return: for this, they said, was their method of pledging their faith; and both parties called upon the gods to be witnesses to their treaty.

When this ceremony was over, the Macrones came, in a friendly manner, among the Greeks, and assisted them in cutting down the trees which impeded their passage. They also supplied them with a market for provisions, and conducted them through their country for three days, when they

following is a poetical sketch of the same adventures.

——“ Through the continent ten thousand Greeks  
Urg'd a retreat, whose glory not the prime  
Of victories can reach. Deserts in vain  
Oppos'd their course; and hostile lands, unknown;  
And deep rapacious floods, dire bank'd with death;  
And mountains, in whose jaws destruction grinn'd;  
Hunger and toil; Armenian snows and storms;  
And circling myriads still of barbarous foes.  
Greece in their view, and glory yet untouch'd,  
Their steady column pierc'd the scattering herds  
Which a whole empire pour'd; and held its way  
Triumphant, by the sage exalted Chief  
Fir'd and sustain'd.——

The sea at last from Colchian mountains seen,  
Kind-hearted transport round their captains threw  
The soldiers fond embrace; o'erflow'd their eyes  
With tender floods, and loos'd the general voice  
To cries resounding loud, “ THE SEA! THE SEA \*”

\* Thomson's Liberty, part II.

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**SOCRATES.**

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To me thy better gifts impart,  
Each moral beauty of the heart  
By studious thought refin'd :  
For wealth the smiles of glad content,  
For power, its amplest, best extent,  
An empire o'er my mind.

ELIZABETH CARTER

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THE year 401 before the Christian era, is not only memorable for the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, but for the persecution and death of Socrates, who is justly regarded as the best and wisest of heathen philosophers.

The word *philosopher*, like *tyrant*, has undergone some change in its meaning. In the time of Socrates, there was a class of men in Greece, especially in Athens, who

assumed to themselves the name of *Sophists*, from a word of similar sound, signifying wisdom or knowledge. These men were professors of wisdom, and undertook to teach every science \*. Socrates spent great part of his life in refuting and exposing their arrogant pretensions; and he set them an example of modesty, by suffering no title to be applied to himself, but that of *philosopher*, or *lover of wisdom*.

When we hear of men who have attained great eminence, we naturally wish to know by what means they became so superior to those around them. Our curiosity has not, however, been gratified with many particulars respecting the early life of Socrates. His father, Sophroniscus, was a statuary, and he was himself brought up in the practice of the same art; in which there is reason to believe that he made great proficiency, since his statues of *the Habited Graces* were judged worthy of a place on the wall of the citadel of Athens, behind the statue

\* Mitford, vol. v. p. 143.

of Minerva\*. In the age and city which produced such a master of that art as Phidias, one cannot suppose that the work of Socrates would have obtained this honour, if he had been a bungler in his profession†. He probably continued to exercise this art till he was nearly thirty years of age, when Crito, a noble Athenian, observing his disposition to study, and admiring his ingenuous temper and powerful understanding, thought that such a man might be more usefully employed than in making statues, and placed him with his children, as their preceptor. In this situation he had an opportunity of attending the lectures of the most celebrated philosophers of that time‡.

This was the ordinary method of instruction in the age of Socrates; books were then so scarce, that few could study in retirement. Knowledge was therefore communicated in

\* Cooper's *Life of Socrates*, p. 14.

† Charpentier, *La Vie de Socrate*, p. 16.

‡ Cooper, p. 16 and 22; also Aikin's *Biog. Dict. Art. SOCRATES*.

discourse; and the public walks, the porticos, and places appropriated to bodily exercises, were resorted to for the improvement of the mind \*.

While Socrates listened to these discussions, his thoughts took another direction; and as he had hitherto admired proportion and order, in the different parts of the statues which he was employed in carving, he now began to feel the beauty of regularity in the characters and manners of men†. This easy transition of taste, from natural to moral beauty, is admirably described by one of our poets:

“ The attentive mind, .

By this harmonious action on her powers,  
Becomes herself harmonious; wont so oft  
In outward things to meditate the charm  
Of sacred order, soon she seeks at home  
To find a kindred order, to exert  
Within herself this elegance of love,  
This fair inspir'd delight; her temper'd powers  
Refine at length, and every passion wears  
A chaster, milder, more attractive mien‡.”

\* Mitford, vol. v. p. 140.

† Cooper, p. 16.

‡ Akenside

The philosophers whose lectures Socrates attended, were chiefly occupied in discussing difficult and curious questions, which it was either impossible or useless to answer\*. The formation of the world, and the laws which govern the motions of the heavenly bodies, also engaged their attention†. In these speculations Socrates made an uncommon progress; but he soon perceived that the happiness of men was but little promoted by these studies. He therefore resolved to call Philosophy down from heaven, where she had been vainly striving to account for the motions of the planets, and the revolution of the seasons, that she might assist in the regulation of that little world which the Deity has put into our power‡.

He now applied himself in earnest to the study of the heart of man; and endeavoured to find the most effectual means of governing his passions and directing his reason. He lived for some time as a private citizen,

\* Aikin, ib.                    † Mitford, ib. p. 140.

‡ Cooper, p. 18—20.



in humble life; distinguished only for his wisdom and virtue, and for the exactness of his obedience to the laws of his country\*. At length, when he was about thirty-six years old, he was called into a more active scene. Potidæa, a town situated on the isthmus which joins the little peninsula of Pallene to the continent of Thrace or Macedonia, (for historians do not agree respecting the boundary of those countries,) revolted from the Athenians, to whom they had for some time been tributary†.

The cause of this revolt was the unjust use of power on the part of the Athenians. Potidæa, though at that time dependant on Athens, was a Corinthian colony; and the Athenians, fearing it might shake off their yoke, and regain the protection of Corinth, commanded the inhabitants to demolish their fortifications on the side next to Pallene; to place hostages in their hands, as securities for their obedience; and to dismiss the Corinthian magistrates, who had

\* Aikin, ib.

† Cooper, ib. p. 23.

hitherto governed their city. To these humiliating conditions the Potidæans refused to accede. They declared war against the Athenians, and many neighbouring towns followed their example. Injustice having thus made a beginning, ambition and revenge hastened to complete the work. Alas! could the Athenians have foreseen the miseries and humiliations which were soon to fall upon themselves, how differently would they have acted! Corinth sent an army to the relief of the Potidæans. Athens also sent troops to compel them to obedience. And now Socrates, who thought it his duty to support the measures of his country, though he had as yet taken no share in the government, exchanged the contemplative life of a philosopher, for the bustle and activity of a camp. Ever anxious to exert his powers to the utmost in the public service, he endured, beyond any of his companions in arms, the privations and fatigues of war. Hunger, thirst, and cold, were enemies with which he had long accustomed himself to contend, and therefore the severity of the

climate affected him less than any body. The Thracian winters were then extremely severe; and when but few of the soldiers would venture to go out of their tents, on account of the cold, and those who did, wrapped themselves in warm fur, Socrates accompanied them in his common clothing, and walked barefoot on the ice, with more alacrity than those who were so warmly clad. This astonished the soldiers, who considered his hardiness as a reproach to themselves\*.

Our philosopher not only surprised the soldiers by his hardiness, but delighted them by his wit and gaiety, which made him the life of every company; for, during this expedition, they had times of feasting as well as of privation; and whether the business of the day was enjoyment or suffering, Socrates equally distinguished himself, though he was careful not to exceed the bounds of

\* Rollin, tom. iii. p. 310; and Stanley's Hist. of Philos. p. 81.

temperance. When the Athenians invested Potidæa, many skirmishes took place between them and the Corinthians. In one of these, a noble Athenian youth, named Alcibiades, was severely wounded. Socrates, seeing him lie in this sad condition on the ground, stepped before him, defended him courageously, prevented the enemy from taking possession of his arms, and at length brought him off safely in sight of the whole army. The prize of valour was considered as justly due to Socrates, for this brave action, but he modestly declined it. To him the pleasure of doing his duty appears to have been reward sufficient; and we are told, that the honourable testimony which he bore to the courage of the young Alcibiades, had such weight with the judges, that they bestowed upon him the crown and suit of armour which had been intended for Socrates\*.

The check which their Corinthian allies had received in this action, did not change

\* Rollin, ib. p. 311; and Stanley, p. 81.

the resolution of the inhabitants of Potidæa. They persisted in refusing to obey the unjust commands of the Athenians, and the city was therefore closely besieged, both by sea and land. The Corinthians, not liking to give up a place colonized by themselves, appealed to the Lacedæmonians, who, notwithstanding the wise remonstrances of their king Archidamus, consented to engage in the war. As they had not, however, made the necessary preparations, they sent ambassadors to Athens, by way of gaining time. These deputies, among other offensive demands, were instructed to desire that the seige of Potidæa should be raised. The Athenians, confident in their strength, (for great part of Greece was already subject to their influence,) were more inclined to defend their aggressions, than to accede to the terms proposed. The ambassadors returned to Sparta, and the Peloponnesian war began soon afterwards, which ended in the complete humiliation of Athens\*.

\* Rollin, tom. iii. p. 311—324.

While the Athenian army still lay encamped before the walls of Potidæa, their native city was visited by a dreadful pestilence, which carried off great part of the inhabitants. The general distress was increased by the incursions of the Lacedæmonians, who, in hopes of compelling them by sufferings at home, to raise the siege of Potidæa, invaded Attica, and laid waste the country. Those who have been insolent in prosperity, are frequently dispirited by a change of fortune. The afflicted Athenians now believed, that the gods were in league with their enemies to destroy them. In the mean time, the plague continued its ravages in the city and in the fleet, and was communicated to the army before Potidæa, where it raged with such violence, that in a short time eleven hundred men fell victims to it. While this calamity was thus spreading among his countrymen, Socrates, though surrounded with contagion, sustained no inconvenience. He is said to have been the only Athenian who was not attacked by this disorder. Perhaps the hardiness of his constitution,

and his remarkable temperance, might render him less liable to infection; but some have considered his extraordinary exemption from the general calamity, as an evident proof of the special protection of Providence\*.

Socrates was of a very contemplative temper; and when his mind was thus engaged, he would often remain motionless for a length of time, till he had finished his meditation. A remarkable instance of this occurred during the siege of Potidæa. One morning he became absorbed in contemplation, and continued standing in the same posture till noon, when the soldiers observed it, and it was told, from one to another, that Socrates had been standing in the same place all the morning. In the evening, finding him still in the same situation, some Ionian soldiers had the curiosity to wrap themselves up, and lie down beside him in the open fields, to watch whether he would continue all night in the same posture, which

\* Charpentier, p. 23, &c.

he did, till the sun rose, when he saluted the ascending luminary, and retired\*.

After the blockade had continued for two whole years, the Potidæans were obliged by famine to surrender; and the victorious army returned to Athens, where the plague still prevailed. Of the dreadful scenes then witnessed, a poet of our own times gives a striking and faithful picture.

“ Around each fount  
The thirsty multitudes expiring lay,  
Whilst every temple's porch resounded sad  
With groans and sighs, and the faint struggling gasps  
Of dying nature. E'en Affection shunn'd  
The loathsome sight, nor felt the throbbing brow,  
Nor watch'd the languid eye, nor wip'd away  
The drops of fever'd anguish, but Despair  
Sat sole companion of the sick man's bed †.

Many years after this, Socrates was again engaged in war. The Athenians were defeated near Delium, a town of Bœotia; a general panic ensued, and they fled in disorder. In this battle, Socrates behaved

\* Stanley, p. 81.

† Haygarth's Greece, p. 62.



with his usual courage; and instead of joining the crowd of fugitives, who were escaping as they could in various directions, he retreated step by step, often turning his face towards the enemy; when perceiving Xenophon thrown from his horse and wounded, he took him up on his shoulders, and carried him till he was out of all danger. By this action, he not only preserved the life of a citizen who was afterwards an honour to his country, but gained to himself a steady friend through the remainder of his life; and, after his death, a faithful narrator of his actions and discourses\*.

Of the first meeting of Socrates and his young disciple, we have the following account. It is said that Xenophon was remarkably beautiful in countenance, and elegant in person†. Perhaps this might first attract the attention of Socrates, who appears to have always retained that partiality for fine forms, naturally inspired by his first

\* Cooper, p. 53; and Stanley, p. 82.

† Mitford, vol. vi. p. 421.

profession. Meeting Xenophon one day in a narrow path, the philosopher stopped him, by placing his staff across it, and abruptly inquired, if he knew where provisions were sold? This simple question being readily answered, Socrates asked, "In what place do men learn virtue?" The youth was now at a loss, and hesitated. Socrates observing his embarrassment, said: "Follow me, and thou shalt discover it." Xenophon obeyed\*, and it is to him that we are indebted for the most faithful idea of the manners and sentiments of the master he so truly loved. Plato, one of the most illustrious disciples of Socrates, appears to have equalled Xenophon in reverence for his master, and wrote down many of his discourses; but he mixed so much of his own language and thoughts with them, that Socrates, on hearing him recite one of these compositions, is said to have exclaimed: "How much does this young man make me say, which I never thought of†!" Plato lived to a great age,

\* Rollin, tom. iv. p. 252.

† Aikin, p. 187.

and a little before his death is said to have solemnly thanked the Deity for three things: That he had given him a reasonable mind, that he had permitted him to be born among the Greeks instead of the barbarians, and to live in the time of Socrates \*.

We have given proofs of the courage of Socrates in the field of battle: we are now going to speak of another kind of intrepidity, much more uncommon, and infinitely superior to that which urges the shock of conflicting armies, and impels the soldier to advance undauntedly, though he knows that he is marching to danger and to death †.

Socrates had attained the age of sixty before he took any active part in the government: he was then elected one of the representatives to the senate of five hundred. While employed in this office, a circumstance occurred which gave him an opportunity of proving the firmness and integrity of his mind. It was in the 26th year of the Pelo-

\* Rollin, tom. iv. p. 252.

† Ib. p. 51.

ponnesian war, of which we have already spoken, that a battle was fought between the Lacedæmonian and Athenian fleets, near the little islands of Arginusæ, which are situated between Lesbos and the coast of Æolia. The Athenians were victorious; and after the battle, the first care of the generals was to order some of their ships to return to Athens, with the bodies of those who had fallen in the engagement, that they might be interred with the honours granted to such as were slain in defence of their country. Every year, during this long war, the Athenians had paid a mournful tribute to the memory of their countrymen who fell in each campaign. Three days before the ceremony, a tent was erected, where the bones of the dead were exposed to public view, and each beholder strewed over them flowers and perfumes: afterwards, they were laid on chariots, in coffins of cypress, each tribe having its separate chariot and coffin. There was, besides, a chariot bearing a large and empty coffin, in memory of those whose

bodies had not been found. The procession advanced with a majestic and religious solemnity, accompanied by a crowd of citizens and strangers, to a public monument erected in the Ceramicus, where the weeping relatives of the deceased warriors were already assembled. Here the sad remains were deposited, and covered with earth. One of the most considerable citizens of the republic was appointed to pronounce the funeral oration. Nor did the Athenians feel satisfied with paying this double tribute of sorrow and of praise, to the defenders of their country: they also took care to provide for the widows and orphans whom the consequences of war had left thus helpless and destitute\*. Immediately after the battle of Arginusæ, a violent storm arose, and frustrated the intention of the generals; but when it was known at Athens, that the dead had been left without burial, the people were transported with indignation, and caused all

\* Rollin, tom. iii. p. 366.

the weight of their anger to fall upon those whom they believed guilty of that crime\*.

The generals who had gained this important victory, were immediately deprived of their command; and six of them who had returned to Athens, were accused before the people, for having failed in this duty. They endeavoured to defend themselves, by the testimony of the pilots and others who were present. The people appeared to receive these excuses favourably; but the approach of night obliged them to separate without having come to a decision. The affair was not, however, suffered to rest here; for these unfortunate generals were soon afterwards accused before the senate. It was ordained, that, as the people had already heard the accusation and defence, they should give their votes; and if the accused

\* Rollin, tom. iv. p. 45.

The Greeks attached great importance to the rites of sepulture, because they believed that those who were deprived of them, could not be admitted to the abodes of immortal happiness.

were found guilty, they should be punished with death, their possessions confiscated, and the tenth part of them consecrated to Minerva.

Some of the senators objected to this decree, as unjust and contrary to the laws. But as the people threatened to involve those who opposed their wishes in the fate of the accused, these senators basely desisted from further opposition, and sacrificed the innocent generals to their own safety, by consenting to the decree. There was, however, one of these judges, who, truly worthy of his station, remained firm. Socrates, though he knew that his single vote must prove unavailing, believed that to give it was a duty which he owed to oppressed innocence. He deemed it unworthy of a good man, to suffer any consideration of personal safety to enforce his submission to the blind rage of the capricious multitude.

The people assembled, to the number of three thousand, and an orator mounted the tribune, to speak in behalf the accused.

He represented, that they had not in any respect failed in their duty; that they had given the necessary orders; but that the tempest which immediately followed, was an apology so powerful as fully to justify them. "Are men," continued he, "to be responsible for winds and storms? Is there not a shameful injustice in condemning to death the conquerors whom you ought to crown? and in delivering the defenders of the country to the rage of their enemies? If you do this, a sentence so iniquitous will be followed by speedy but useless repentance, which will leave in your hearts a piercing anguish, and will cover you with eternal shame!"

The inconstant multitude seemed to be touched by this appeal; yet, at the instigation of the accusers, they pronounced the fatal sentence. Then Diomedon, one of the unfortunate generals, celebrated for his courage and integrity, demanded to be heard. When silence was obtained: "Athenians!" said he, "I desire that the judgment which you have just pronounced against us, may



not prove injurious to the republic. I have a favour to request of you, for my colleagues and myself. It is, to acquit us to the gods of those vows which we have made in your behalf, and in our own, and which we are not now in a situation to fulfil; for it is to their protection, invoked before the combat, that we acknowledge ourselves indebted for the victory we have gained over the enemy." There was no good citizen present who was not affected, even to tears, by a speech so full of mildness and piety; and who did not view with admiration, one, who seeing himself unjustly condemned, suffered no expression of bitterness or complaint against his judges to escape, but was solely occupied by the desire, that the ungrateful country, which had just pronounced the doom of himself and his friends, might offer the thanks due to the gods, for the victory which had been gained.

The six generals were scarcely executed, before the Athenians became sensible of the horror of this most iniquitous sentence.

Alas! their unavailing repentance could not restore life to the dead \*.

We cannot be surprised at the conduct of the Athenians, when we reflect that the assembly of the people was composed of the very lowest orders of society, and that even the worst characters were not excluded from it. Such persons having power over the decisions of the state, the Athenians often appeared to be not only jealous and inconstant, but cruel, ungrateful, and incapable of being guided by reason †.

Socrates, aware of the character of his countrymen, and the defects of their government, avoided, as much he could, taking any part in public affairs, though, when appointed to office, he had the courage to do his duty, regardless of the danger he might incur. His sentiments on this subject were plainly declared, in a speech he made some years after this event. "Athenians!" said he, "you well know, that had I engaged in public business, I should long ago have perished,

\* Rollin, *ib.* p. 47—50.

† *Ib.* p. 51.

without procuring any advantage to you or to myself. Let not the truth offend you. It is no peculiarity of your democracy\*, or of your national character; but wherever the people is sovereign, no man who shall dare honestly to oppose injustice,—frequent and extravagant injustice,—can avoid destruction†.

The greater part of the senators were as fully convinced as Socrates of the innocence of the accused. Many of them had commanded armies, and all had been exposed to the greatest dangers in battle; yet the moment they were threatened with the displeasure of the people, they deserted the cause of oppressed innocence. In military courage they probably were not deficient; but of the five hundred, only *one* had that quality so much more rare, so much more valuable, which may be called *true heroism*‡.

\* A *democracy* is that form of government in which the people possess the sovereign power.

† Mitford, vol. v. p. 152.   ‡ Rollin, tom. iv. p. 51.

But however those who are possessed of power may abuse it, however injustice and oppression may triumph for a time, the hour of retribution will arrive. The Athenian republic, elevated by the genius of Pericles to the first rank among the Grecian states, in extending her own power was unmindful of the rights of others. The consequences of this were so important, that we will suspend the story of Socrates while we relate them.

Those who were thus injured sought redress, and Athens had now, with various success, been for many years engaged in defending the power she had abused. In the twenty-seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, a vessel entered the harbour of Piræus during the night, bringing the sad intelligence of the total overthrow of the Athenian army, the capture of all their generals, and of their whole fleet, by the allies under the command of Lysander, the Lacedæmonian general. This event took place in the Hellespont; and Lysander returned to Lampsacus, with the Athenian ships towed

behind his victorious galleys, amid the music of flutes and the songs of triumph \*. How different were the feelings of the Athenians! a general cry of sorrow and despair resounded through the city, which had so lately been

“ The envy of the world,  
First in the lists of fame, in arts and arms  
Pre-eminent.”

Already they believed that they saw the enemy at their gates. Their lively imaginations presented the fearful images of a long siege and a cruel famine—their city in flames—the insults of the haughty conquerors—the shameful slavery which awaited themselves: a slavery more to be dreaded than the severest privations, than even death itself.

The next day they convened the assembly, not now to pass sentence of death on their own victorious generals, but to order the closing of the gates, the repairing of the

\* Rollin, tom. iv. p. 59—61.

breaches; in short, to make every preparation for the expected siege\*.

And now Agis and Pausanias, the two kings of Sparta, approached Athens with all their force. The triumphant Lysander soon afterwards entered the Piræus, with a fleet of one hundred and fifty ships. Thus closely besieged by land and sea, the unhappy Athenians endured all the miseries of famine, till at length they submitted, from necessity, to the hard conditions imposed by Sparta. Peace was proposed on these terms: That the Athenians should demolish the fortifications of the Piræus, and the long walls which joined that harbour to the city; that they should give up all their ships, except twelve; that they should restore all the cities which they had taken, and in future confine themselves to the limits of Attica; that they should recall their banished citizens, and make a league with the Lacedæmonians, whom they were to follow wherever they might please to lead them†.

\* Rollin, tom. iv. p. 61.

† Ib. p. 61—63.

These were hard conditions, but the Athenians resolved to accept them; for numbers were every day perishing with hunger, and they could no longer hold out. The morrow was therefore appointed for the fulfilment of the treaty. How vain is the glory, how transient the prosperity of man! The morrow was the anniversary of that very day when the Athenians had taken so distinguished a part in the battle of Salamis. Only seventy-seven years had passed away since that memorable event. Athens had risen from her ruins more beautiful than ever: she had attained the first rank of all the Grecian states, in power and in knowledge; she had abused the prosperity she enjoyed; and now, her starving, spiritless citizens, beheld the victorious Lysander enter their gates, followed by a crowd of exiles. They beheld their fortifications destroyed, amidst the sound of flutes and trumpets, and every expression of the most extravagant joy; as if in the humiliation of

Athens, the rest of Græce had recovered its liberty\*.

We must not judge severely of the conduct of the Lacedæmonians on this occasion, for they were strongly urged by their allies to destroy Athens entirely, without making *any* terms with the inhabitants; but they replied, it should never be said that Sparta had destroyed a city which had rendered such important services to all Greece. They added, that the remembrance of those services ought to make a stronger impression on the allies, than the recollection of the particular injuries which they had since received. This moderation in the moment of triumph, over a rival whose superiority had been so galling, was a greater honour to the Lacedæmonians than all the victories they had gained.

Thus ended the Peloponnesian war; and now we will return to Socrates, to whom, amidst the distresses and humiliations of his country,

\* Rollin, p. 63—64.



“ There yet remained a freedom nobler far  
Than kings or senates can destroy or give;  
Beyond the proud oppressor's cruel grasp  
Seated secure, uninjur'd, undestroy'd;  
Worthy of gods, the freedom of the mind \*.”

He took no share in the revolutions of government which followed the events we have mentioned. For many years, (though, when called into office, he, as we have seen, faithfully discharged his duty,) he had believed that he could serve his country more effectually in a line which he had marked out for himself†.

We are informed by his disciple, Xenophon, how he passed his time. Early in the morning, he went to the public walks and places of exercise. When the market-place was filled with people, he was there. Sometimes he collected an audience in the Lyceum, a meadow on the banks of the Ilyssus, where he addressed the people from an elevated chair. At other times he mixed in private parties, where he was generally the

\* Aikin's Corsica.

† Mitford, p. 148.

principal speaker. The liveliness of his manner rendered his conversation amusing as well as instructive, and his company was therefore eagerly sought by young people. His pupils were generally sons of the principal citizens, whose easy circumstances afforded leisure to hear him\*. We have mentioned his saving the lives of Alcibiades and Xenophon, who became exceedingly attached to him; but only the latter attempted to copy his virtues. Socrates might, indeed, be considered as the father of the republic, so attentive was he to the welfare and happiness of all the citizens; but as it is very difficult to correct the wrong opinions of those who have grown old in error, he principally devoted his labours to the instruction of youth, scattering the seeds of virtue in a soil where he thought there was more probability of their taking root and flourishing†.

Socrates had learned from Anaxagoras, the

\* Mitford, *ib.* p. 145; and Aikin.

† Rollin, *tom.* iv. p. 250.

first great principle of religion, that there is **ONE** eternal, almighty and benevolent Being, who is the Creator of all things\*; but knowing that the prejudices of education are not all at once to be eradicated from the minds of men, he complied with the religious ceremonies prescribed by the laws of his country, and often sacrificed to the gods, upon the common altars of the city. This gave him frequent opportunities of conversing with the most eminent citizens; and while their hearts were warmed with gratitude, at the shrines of their imaginary deities, he seized the favourable moment to impress them with juster notions of the Divine character, and with the dangers of mistaken worship. Thus, one day meeting his young friend Alcibiades going to the temple, he asked him what was his intention in doing so. Finding that it was to offer up his prayers to the gods, Socrates addressed him thus: “Do you not think that every one has

\* Mitford, *ib.* p. 141—144.

need of great caution, lest, while he thinks he prays for good, he should ask the greatest evil?" Then, having convinced Alcibiades of the ignorance of men, and the goodness of the great Ruler of the Universe, who orders all things for the best, and produces good even from that which we suppose to be evil, he gave him this short prayer of an ancient poet, as containing all that is necessary for men to ask: "Great God! give us those things which are good for us, whether we pray for them or not; and keep those things which are hurtful from us, even though we should ask them of thee\*." A poet of our own country appears to have borrowed this idea:

"Not to my wish, but to my want,  
Do thou thy gifts apply:  
Unask'd, what good thou knowest, grant;  
What ill, though ask'd, deny†."

We have said that Socrates learned his first great lesson of religion from Anaxago-

\* Cooper, p. 28—32.

† Merrick.

ras: but he excelled his master in the use that he made of his knowledge. The mind of Socrates was strongly impressed by the sublime idea of an almighty and benevolent Creator; this led him to consider what were the duties owed by man to such a Being as Anaxagoras had described; and it struck him, that the behaviour of men towards each other, though it had not then been considered as much connected with religion, must be a principal part of the duty of man to God. He continued to meditate upon this subject, and at last he was thoroughly persuaded, that that knowledge which teaches us to govern our own passions, and to be just and kind to every body, is more useful, more valuable, and therefore more acceptable to the Divine Wisdom, than any other. When he was decided in his opinions, he communicated them by asking some simple, easy question, which, when answered, was followed by another; and thus he gently led on his hearers, step by step, teaching them to think for themselves, and gradually bringing

them to a just conclusion\*. It was in this way that he is said to have brought Philosophy down from heaven, to assist in the regulation of that little world which the Deity has put into our power.

One of the most remarkable traits in the character of Socrates, was a tranquillity of mind which no accident, no loss, no injury, no ill-treatment, could disturb. Yet it has been said, that his temper was naturally passionate and turbulent, and that the equanimity he attained was the result of reflection, and of the efforts he had used to correct and subdue his propensities. If this account is true, his character is still more worthy of admiration. It is said that he desired his friends to warn him when they saw him in danger of yielding to anger, and that he took the same liberty with them. At the first signal, the first hint, Socrates lowered his tone, or was silent. Feeling displeased with a slave, "I would beat thee," said he, "if I were not angry." And one day some

\* Mitford, *ib.* 144.

person having given him a box on the ear, he remarked with a smile, that, "It is a pity not to know when one ought to put on a helmet."

But it was not necessary for Socrates to go out of his own house, in order to exercise his patience by enduring the ill humour of others. Xanthippe, his wife, was a most capricious and passionate woman: it is said that he was not ignorant of this when he married her; and as the fact is related by Xenophon, there is just reason to believe it, however we may wonder at the taste of the philosopher. The reason he gave for it was, that if he could learn to bear with her temper, there would be no person with whom he might not be able to live\*."

Though his home was one continued scene of disturbance, quarrelling, and confusion, yet Xanthippe could never, as she frequently declared with vexation, ruffle the calm temper of her patient husband: who, being asked how he came to choose a wo-

\* Rollin, ib. p. 241, &c.

man whose behaviour was so disagreeable, replied: "Men who are desirous of being skilful in horsemanship, do not procure those horses which are the easiest to be managed, but such as are most fiery and high spirited\*." Many of his friends advised him to punish or to abandon his tormenting wife; but he would not listen to them, saying, that he was accustomed to hear the noise she made, as one becomes familiarized to the sound of a pulley†.

But though Socrates amused himself by laughing at the faults of his wife, he was sensible of the necessity there was for his children to behave towards her with propriety. So inconsistent is the reason of man, till it is enlightened by that wisdom which comes from above! One day he happened to see his eldest son, Lamprocles, in a great passion with his mother, and he spoke to him in the following manner: "Tell me, my son, did you ever hear of any who were called *ungrateful*?"

\* Cooper, p. 97.      † Charpentier, p. 26.



"Many," replied Lamprocles.

"Did you consider what gained them this appellation?"

"They were called ungrateful, because, having received favours, they refused to make any return."

"Ingratitude, then, should seem one species of injustice."

"Most certainly."

"If then," continued Socrates, "ingratitude is injustice, it will follow, that the greater the benefit of which we are unmindful, the more we are unjust."

"Most assuredly."

"But where shall we find the person who hath received, from any one, benefits so *great* or so *many*, as children from their parents? What does not a child owe to the mother who watches over it with tender affection; attends it continually with unwearyed care, although she has received no benefit from it, neither does it yet know to whom it is indebted. She seeks, as it were, to divine its wants: night or day, her solicitude and labour know no intermission, un-

mindful of what hereafter may be the fruit of all her pains. Afterwards, when the children are arrived at an age capable of receiving instruction, how doth each parent endeavour to instil into their minds the knowledge which may best conduce to their future well-doing! And if they hear of any better qualified than themselves for this important task, to these they send them, without regard to the expence: so much do they desire the happiness of their children!"

"Certain it is," replied Lamprocles, "although my mother had done *this*, and a thousand times more, no man could bear with so much ill-humour."

"Do you not think it easier to bear the anger of a mother, than that of a wild beast?"

"No, not of such a mother."

"But what harm has she done you? Has she kicked you, or bit you, as wild beasts do when they are angry?"

"No; but she utters such things as no one can *bear* from any body."

"And you, Lamprocles, what have *you*

not made this mother *bear*, with your continual cries, and untoward restlessness! what fatigue in the day! what disturbance in the night! and what pangs when sickness at any time seized you!"

"But, however, I never said or did any thing to make her ashamed of me."

"It is well. But why, Lamprocles, should you be more offended with your mother, than people on the stage are with one another? There is nothing so injurious and reproachful that these do not often say; yet no one becomes outrageous against the man whom he hears threaten and revile him, because he knows that he intends him no real injury. But you, although you as well know that no hurt is designed you, but, on the contrary, every kindness, fly out into rage against your mother! Or, perhaps, you suppose that she intended you some harm?"

"Not at all," replied Lamprocles; "I never once suspected any such matter."

"But tell me," continued Socrates, "does it seem to you at all necessary to show re-

spect or submission to any one? Or are you indeed conscious of such a degree of self-sufficiency, as makes it needless to pay any regard, whether to magistrate or general?"

"So far from it," said Lamprocles, "I endeavour all I can to recommend myself to my superiors."

"Perhaps too, you would cultivate the good will of your neighbour, that he may yield you ready assistance, when any accident befalls you?"

"I would, most surely."

"And if you were to go a journey, or a voyage with any one, it would not be indifferent to you, whether they loved or hated you?"

"No, certainly!"

"Wretch! to think it right to endeavour to gain the good will of these people, and suppose you are to do nothing for a mother, whose love for you so far exceeds that of any other! Surely you have forgot, that while every other kind of ingratitude is passed over unnoticed by the magistrate, the man who is wanting in respect to his parents, for

*this* man, public punishments are appointed\*: the laws yield him no longer their protection, neither is he permitted any share in the administration: since they think no sacrifice, offered by a hand so impious, can be acceptable to the gods, or beneficial to man; and conclude the mind so altogether degenerate, equally incapable of undertaking any thing *great*, or executing any thing justly. You, therefore, O my son! will not delay, if wise, to entreat pardon of the gods; lest they, from whom your ingratitude cannot be hid, should turn away their favour from you. And be you likewise careful to conceal it from the eyes of men, that you find not yourself forsaken by all who know you; for no one will expect a return to his kindness, however considerable, from *him* who can show himself unmindful of what he oweth to his parents†."

\* Neither was this confined to their immediate parents; but equally understood of grand-fathers, grand-mothers, and other progenitors. *Potter's Antiq.*

† Fielding's Trans. of Xenophon's Memoirs, p. 124—132.

There was a person named Aristodemus, with whom Socrates was acquainted, who not only neglected all the duties of religion, but ridiculed those who observed them. Wishing to bring this man to a better way of thinking, he one day addressed him thus:

“Tell me, Aristodemus, is there any man whom you admire on account of his merit?”

“Aristodemus having answered, “Many,” and among other persons mentioned the names of Polycletes the statuary, and Xeuxis the painter, Socrates inquired:

“But which seems to you most worthy of admiration, Aristodemus, the artist who forms images void of motion and intelligence, or one who has the skill to produce animals that are endued, not only with activity, but with understanding?”

“The *latter*, there can be no doubt,” replied Aristodemus; “provided this was not the effect of *chance*, but of wisdom and contrivance.”

“Is not that Providence conspicuous, Aristodemus, which, because the eye of man is so delicate in its texture, has therefore

prepared eye-lids like doors, to secure it; which extend of themselves whenever it is needful, and again close when sleep approaches? Are not these eye-lids provided, as it were, with a fence on the edge of them, to keep off the wind and guard the eye? Is it not to be admired, that the ears should take in sounds of every sort, and yet are not too much filled by them?—that the fore-teeth of the animal should be formed in such a manner, as is evidently best suited for the cutting of its food, as those on the side for grinding it in pieces?—that the mouth, through which this food is conveyed, should be placed so near the nose and eyes, as to prevent the passing, *unnoticed*, whatever is unfit for nourishment? And canst thou still doubt, Aristodemus! whether a disposition of parts like *this*, should be the work of chance, or of wisdom and contrivance?"

"I have no longer any doubt," replied Aristodemus; "and indeed, the more I consider it, the more evident it appears to me that man must be the *master-piece* of some

great artificer; bearing infinite marks of the love and favour of him who has thus formed it."

"But it is not with respect to the body alone, that the gods have shown themselves thus bountiful to man! Their most excellent gift is that *soul* which they have infused into him, which so far surpasses what is elsewhere to be found. In thee, Aristodemus, hath been joined to a wonderful soul, a body no less wonderful; and sayest thou after *this*, 'The gods take no thought for me!' What wouldst thou then more to convince thee of their care?"

"I would they should send, and inform me," said Aristodemus, "what things I *ought* or *ought not* to do; in like manner, as thou sayest, they frequently do to thee."

"And what then, Aristodemus! are they dumb to *thee* alone? And art *thou* the only person whom they have placed beyond their care? If thine eye hath the power to take in *many* objects, and these placed at no small distance from it; marvel not if the eye of the Deity can, at one glance, comprehend



the *whole*! And as thou perceivest it not beyond thy ability to extend thy care, at the same time, to the concerns of Athens, Egypt, and Sicily, why thinkest thou, my Aristodemus! that the Providence of God may not easily extend itself throughout the whole universe?"

Thus, by meditating on the structure of the human body, Socrates perceived that such a curious machine must be the work of a wise and benevolent Creator; and feeling the powers of his own mind, he could have no difficulty in believing that such powers must be possessed in a far greater degree by that invisible and mysterious Being. We will now observe the conclusion which he desired his friend Aristodemus to draw from these comparisons.

"As, therefore, among men, we make best trial of the affection and gratitude of our neighbour, by showing him kindness; and discover his wisdom, by consulting him in our distress; do thou, in like manner, behave towards the gods. And if thou wouldst experience what their wisdom, and what their

love, render thyself deserving the communication of some of those divine secrets which may not be penetrated by man; and are imparted to those alone, who consult, who adore, and who obey the Deity. Then shalt thou, my Aristodemus! understand there is a Being, whose eye pierceth through all nature, and whose ear is open to every sound; *extended* to all places; *extending* through all time; and whose bounty and care can know no other bounds, than those fixed by his own creation\*.”

Thus did Socrates open, as it were, a new world to the minds of the young Athenians; teaching them to raise their thoughts to that invisible Being who is every where present, and inspiring them with the desire of gaining his favour, by a life of virtue and benevolence. He was so successful, that Xenophon has declared, of those who were most frequently with him, and who listened to his conversation with a desire of becoming better men, that so far were they from practising

\* Fielding's *Xenophon*, ib. p. 76—87.

what was dishonest; that, whether in youth or in age, not one of them incurred even the *suspicion* of any crime\*.

But while the lives and characters of his constant companions bore this most honourable testimony to the virtues of Socrates, and to the purity of his instructions and example, a young man named Melitus went to the chief magistrate, and, in the usual form, delivered this accusation: "Melitus, son of Melitus, of the borough of Pitthos, declares these, upon oath, against Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, of the borough of Alopece; Socrates is guilty of decrying the gods whom the city acknowledges, and of preaching other and new gods. Moreover, he is guilty of corrupting the youth. Penalty, DEATH†."

Xenophon begins his memoirs of his revered master, with declaring his wonder how the Athenians could have been persuaded that Socrates had behaved in such a manner as to deserve death. And now, having seen what was the conduct of Socrates as a sol-

\* Fielding's Xenophon, p. 61.

† Mitford, ib. p. 150.

dier, as a senator, and as an instructor of youth, it remains for us to show how he supported persecution. After Melitus had, as has been said, delivered his accusation upon oath, Crito, the friend of Socrates, entered into an engagement that the accused should appear on the day appointed for his trial. Though that trial would, in all probability, be so managed by his enemies as to end in a sentence of death, Socrates spent the interval in discoursing with his friends in his usual way, and without referring to the subject of the approaching trial. One of them, being uneasy on this account, asked him, if it were not necessary to be preparing for his defence? "And what," said he, "my Hermogenes! suppose you I have not spent my whole life in preparing for this very thing?" Hermogenes desiring he would explain what he meant by this, he replied: "I have steadily persisted, throughout life, in a diligent endeavour to do nothing which is unjust; and *this* I take to be the best and most honourable preparation\*."

\* Aikin, *ib.*; and Fielding's Xenophon, p. 2.

Socrates did not mean that his life had prepared him for his trial, but for the *event* of that trial. In other words, he considered a virtuous life as the best preparation for death.

On the day of trial, after three accusers had made their harangues, and Plato, then a young man, had been forbidden to speak in defence of his master\*, Socrates, advancing towards the tribunal, spoke thus:

“What I chiefly wonder at, O ye judges! is this, whence Melitus inferreth that I esteem not those as gods, whom the city holds sacred. For that I sacrificed at the appointed festivals, on our common altars, was evident to all others; and might have been so to Melitus, had Melitus been so minded. Neither yet doth it seem to be asserted with greater reason, that my design was to introduce new deities among us, because I have often said, that it is the voice of God which giveth me significations of what is most expedient; since they themselves who observe

\* Aikin, ib.

the chirping of birds, or those ominous words spoken by men, ground their conclusions on no other than voices. For, who among you doubteth whether thundersendeth forth a voice? or whether it be not the very greatest of all auguries? The Pythian priestess herself, doth not she likewise, from the tripod, declare by a *voice* the divine Oracles? And, truly, that God foreknoweth the future, and also showeth it to whomsoever he pleases, I am no way singular, either in believing or asserting, since all mankind agree with me herein. This difference only excepted, that whereas they say it is from auguries, omens, and diviners that they have their notices of the future; I, on the contrary, impute those with which I am favoured to a Genius; and think that in so doing, I have spoken not only more truly, but more piously, than they who attribute to birds the divine privilege of declaring things to come. And that I lied not against God, I have this indisputable proof; that whereas I have often communicated to many of my friends

the divine counsels, yet hath no man ever detected me in speaking falsely\*."

No sooner was this heard, than a murmuring arose among his judges; some disbelieving the truth of what he had said, while others envied him for being, as they thought, more highly favoured of the gods than they. But Socrates, still going on: "Mark!" said he, "I pray, and attend to what is yet more extraordinary. Chærephon, inquiring of the Oracle at Delphi concerning me, was answered by Apollo himself, in the presence of many people, 'That he knew no man more free, more just, or more wise than I†.'"

On hearing this, the tumult among them visibly increased; but Socrates going on, added: "And yet Lycurgus, the Lacedæmonian lawgiver, had still greater things declared of him; for on his entering into the temple, the Deity thus accosted him: 'I am considering,' said he, 'whether I shall call

\* Fielding's *Xen.* p. 7—8.      † *Ib.* p. 8.

thee a god, or a man!" Now Apollo compared me not to a god; this, indeed, he said: 'That I by far excelled man!' However, credit not too hastily what you have heard, though coming from an Oracle; but let us thoroughly examine those things which the Deity spoke concerning me.

"Say, then, where have you ever known any one less enslaved to sensual appetite? Whom more *free*, than the man who submits not to receive gift or reward from the hands of any other? Whom can you deservedly esteem more *just*, than he who can so well accommodate himself to what he hath already in his own possession, as not even to desire what belongs to another? Or how can he fail of being accounted *wise*, who, from the time he first began to comprehend what was spoken, never ceased to seek, to the very best of his power, whatever was virtuous, and good for man? And, as a proof that in so doing, I have not laboured in vain, ye, yourselves, know, that many of our citizens, yea, and many foreigners also, who made virtue their pursuit, always pre-



ferred, as their chief pleasure, the conversing with me. Whence was it, I pray you, that when every one knew my want of power to return any pecuniary favour, so many should be ambitious to bestow them on me? Why doth no man call me his debtor, yet many acknowledge they owe me much? When the city is besieged, and every other person bemoaning his loss, why do *I* appear in no respect the poorer, than while it remained in its most prosperous state? And what is the cause that when others are procuring their delicacies from abroad, at an exorbitant rate, *I* can indulge in pleasures far more exquisite, by recurring to the reflections of my own mind? And now, O ye judges! if in whatsoever I have declared of myself, no one is able to confute me as a false speaker, who will say that I merit not approbation, not only from the gods, but men!

“Nevertheless, you, O Melitus! have asserted, that I ‘*corrupt the youth!*’ And, indeed, we well know what it is to corrupt them. But show us, if in your power, whom

of pious, I have made impious; of modest, shameless; of frugal, profuse? Who, from temperate, is become drunken; from laborious, idle or effeminate, by associating with me? Or, where is the man who hath been enslaved, by my means, to any vicious pleasure whatsoever \*?"

Many other things were spoken by Socrates, but we have repeated enough to show that his object in speaking was to defend his character from the charge of impiety towards the gods, and of injustice towards men. This being made clear, he did not importune his judges with respect to his sentence; and when the trial was ended, and they condemned him to die by the poison of hemlock †, he addressed them thus:

"It is necessary, O ye judges! that all they who instructed the witnesses to bear false testimony against me, as well as all those who too readily obeyed their instructions, should be conscious to themselves of much impiety and injustice. But that I

\* Fielding's Xen. p. 9—12. † Alkin, ib.

should be more troubled and cast down than before my condemnation, I see not; since I stand here, unconvicted of any of the crimes whereof I was accused. For no one has proved against me, that I sacrificed to any new deity. Neither have they once shown what were the means I made use of to *corrupt* the youth. Wherefore I the rather marvel, that ye have now judged me worthy to die.

“But it is not for *me* to be troubled on that account; for, if I die unjustly, the shame must be theirs who put me unjustly to death. And, I am persuaded, that I shall have the attestation of the time to come, as well as of that which is passed already, that I never wronged any man, or made him more depraved; but, on the contrary, have steadily endeavoured, through life, to benefit those who conversed with me; teaching them, to the very utmost of my power, and that without reward, whatever could make them WISE AND HAPPY.”

Saying this, he departed; the cheerfulness

of his countenance, his gesture, and whole deportment, bearing testimony to the truth of what he had just declared\*.

When this sentence was passed, Socrates was seventy years old†; and to one of his friends, who was astonished at the calmness with which he waited the event of the trial, he said: "If my life is prolonged, and I am spared even to old age, what can hinder, my Hermogenes, the infirmities of old age from falling upon me? My sight will grow dim; my hearing heavy; less capable of learning, as more liable to forget what I have already learned‡. If, indeed, I had been taken away, when the things which are most desirable flowed in upon me abundantly, with good reason it might have been lamented, and by myself as well as others; but if I am only to be removed, when difficulties of every kind are ready to break in upon me, we ought rather to rejoice, as though my affairs went on the most prosperously."

\* Fielding's Xen. p. 15—17. † Mitford, ib. p. 155.

‡ Fielding's Xen. p. 5.

Apollodorus was present when Socrates uttered these last words. He was a weak man, who, though he loved the venerable prisoner exceedingly, was incapable of viewing things in this calm and rational manner; and he exclaimed: "But it grieveth me, my Socrates, to have you die so unjustly!" Socrates, with much tenderness, laying his hand upon his head, answered, smiling: "And what, my much-loved Apollodorus, wouldst thou rather they had condemned me JUSTLY\*?"

It was usual at Athens for the execution of criminals to take place very soon after their condemnation, generally on the next day; but it happened that sentence was pronounced against Socrates, on the eve of the day appointed for the ceremony of crowning the galley, which was on the point of sailing, to carry the annual offering of Athens to the isle of Delos; and, till the return of that vessel, the Athenian law suspended all capital punishment. This circumstance afforded

\* Ib. p. 18.

Socrates a respite of about thirty days, and his friends were permitted to have free access to him in prison\*. During all that time he conversed with them as usual, and preserved his accustomed serenity and cheerfulness. At length the sacred ship appeared in sight, and Crito, one of the most attached of his disciples, came to the prison early in the morning. Socrates was in a profound sleep, and Crito, unwilling to disturb him, sat down beside the bed till he awoke. He then, in deep affliction, told him of the arrival of the vessel; that she was expected to enter the port that day; consequently, that the execution must take place on the morrow. Socrates received the intelligence with expressions of entire resignation to the appointment of Providence. Crito now proceeded to inform him, that, unable to endure the thought of losing him in this manner, he, in concert with some other friends, had taken measures to procure his escape from prison, and that every thing was prepared for his

\* Mitford, *ib.* p. 156.

conveyance into Thessaly, where he might be sure of a safe and honourable retreat. "My dear Crito," replied Socrates, "your zeal is not conformable to the precepts which I have always taught, and to which I am determined to adhere." He added, that it was the first duty of a citizen to obey the laws of his country; and concluded by absolutely rejecting the proposal\*: thus illustrating by his conduct in this trying emergency, the maxim which he had ever inculcated, that it is not allowable to *do* wrong, even though we should *suffer* wrong†.

On the day of execution, the magistrates came to the prison, in order to take off his fetters, and announce to him that his hour was come. Several of his disciples followed, and found him with Xanthippe, who had her youngest child in her arms. She burst into a passion of grief at their entrance, for, notwithstanding her froward temper, she appears to have been much attached to her husband. Socrates desired Crito to con-

\* Aikin, ib.

† Cooper, p. 161.

duct her home; and then he entered into discourse with his friends, on that subject which is of most importance to a dying man: whether death was to be the final extinction of his being, or whether it was the intention of Providence that man should exist in a future state. He declared his belief that this would be the case; and expressed his *hope* of arriving among the good and just who have departed this life, though he acknowledged some doubts on the subject\*.

These doubts principally referred to the future enjoyment of the society of good men: Socrates appears to have been fully persuaded that death would not be the end of his being. But "shadows, clouds, and darkness" rested on this persuasion; for "life and immortality were not yet brought to *light* through the Gospel." It is only there we have the certain assurance, that "those who sleep in Jesus, he will bring with him at his coming: and that where he is, there shall his servants be." But though

\* Ib. p. 160.



he could not have the full assurance of belief, which has since been granted, he was still under the government of a merciful Providence, which permitted the last moments of this good man's life to be cheered by a hope so full of consolation.

Socrates passed the remainder of the interval allowed, in taking leave of his children, and giving directions about his domestic affairs, till the keeper of the prison came to inform him that it was time to take the poison. This man, though accustomed from his office to witness such scenes, was so affected by the mild behaviour, the innocence, and the fortitude of Socrates, that he had no sooner delivered his message, than he turned aside and burst into tears. When the cup was presented, Socrates received it, not only with perfect composure, but with cheerfulness; and, after a short prayer for a favourable passage to the invisible world, he swallowed the fatal draught. His disciples, at that awful moment, could not refrain from tears and expressions of the most poignant grief. He gently reproved their want of

courage; and then, in obedience to the directions he had received, walked about till he began to feel in his legs the benumbing effect of the hemlock. Upon this symptom of its mortal operation, he lay down, wrapping himself up in his mantle. After a short silence, he lifted it up, and said to Crito, "We owe a cock to Æsculapius, do not forget to pay it!" He then covered himself again, and presently expired\*.

The last request of Socrates has exposed him to the censures of many, who appear inclined to judge him by rules applicable only to those who have been favoured with the clear light of revelation. This light would have been unnecessary, had human reason of itself been capable of attaining to the certain knowledge of the truth. The religion of Socrates, though very superior to the gross superstition of the age in which he lived, was still defective and inconsistent, and we should recollect that it was *to him* only one guess among many. He had no

\* Aikin, *ib.*; also Cooper, p. 164.

surer evidence of its truth than its apparent reasonableness and probability; no clearer rule of duty than his own conceptions of moral obligation; and these would naturally be regulated by those limited views of expediency which unassisted reason can attain. We have seen, that though he was perfectly resigned to the event of the trial, he betrayed the most anxious solicitude, while defending himself before his judges, to impress them with the conviction that he was *not guilty* of that impiety towards the gods of his country, with which he had been charged by Melitus. He attempted to prove this by asserting, that he had never failed in those external marks of respect which were prescribed by the laws, but had constantly sacrificed to the gods, on their appointed festivals, at the common altars of the city. "This," said he, "was evident to all others, and might have been so to Melitus, had Melitus been so minded." Socrates had deeply studied the Athenian character. He doubtless recollected, that when the blind fury of

the people was satiated by the execution of the six generals, whose story we have related, they immediately deplored their rashness, and repented of its fatal consequences. How natural, then, was it for him to expect that a similar change in the public mind would follow in his own case; and that the simple fact of Crito offering this sacrifice in his name, and by his dying request, would *then* carry conviction of his innocence to the hearts of his countrymen.

Socrates had, indeed, very strong reasons for desiring not to be considered guilty of this particular crime; for as the Spartans were thought to excel the other Greeks in valour, so the Athenians were esteemed as surpassing all others in piety. Their own poet, Sophocles, boasts of this as their distinguishing excellence; and Xenophon observes, that Athens had twice as many sacred festivals as any other city. Pausanias says that it had more images than all the rest of Greece; a fact which occasioned one of the satirists humorously to remark that "it was easier to find a god than a man

there \*." A want of reverence for the gods would therefore be as obnoxious at Athens, as cowardice among the Lacedæmonians; and Socrates had just reason to believe that if he were considered guilty of the crime for which he suffered, his memory would be held in detestation. Thus the labour of his life would be lost, and his friends, whose minds were in a great measure enlightened by his instructions, would not only be prevented from carrying forward the work which he had begun, but, should they attempt it, would be liable to the same punishment.

We have seen that Socrates regarded it as the first duty of a citizen to obey the laws of his country, and that when offered the means of escaping from his unjust sentence, he chose rather to sacrifice his life than this principle. The same scrupulous obedience was doubtless the motive which induced him to offer the sacrifices appointed by the laws; a compliance which has exposed him to the charge of disingenuousness, for thus sanc-

\* Doddridge's Fam. Ex.

tioning the worship of idols by his example. Those who bring this accusation appear to forget that our philosopher had no means of knowing that idolatry was *a crime*, though he might regard it as very absurd and unworthy of rational beings. Under such circumstances, we should not blame him for regulating his conduct by his own views of expediency; *i.e.* by his perception of what it was right for him openly to teach in the actual state of his country. If he had set the example of entire disbelief of the existing religion, if he had exposed, as he was very capable of doing, the folly of its idolatrous worship, the great body of the people would have been left without any religion at all.

Socrates had once in his life witnessed a scene which must have left a very strong impression upon his mind. We have mentioned, that after being engaged in the siege of Potidæa, he returned to Athens during the time of the plague; he then had an opportunity of observing the terrible consequences arising from the loss of reverence for the gods. However it may be mixed with error,

the belief that man is a dependant and accountable creature, operates as a salutary restraint, and prevents the commission of many crimes. Of the state of Athens, at the period to which we have alluded, the historian Thucydides, who was then in the city, and like others visited by the prevailing distemper, has left this striking description. "The fear of the divine power ceased; for it was observed, that to worship, or not to worship the gods; to obey or not to obey the laws of morality, which have been always held most sacred among men, availed nothing. All died alike; or, if there was a difference, the virtuous, the charitable, the generous, exposing themselves to danger in order to assist others, were the first and surest to suffer." When the restraints, even of their corrupt religion, were thus taken away, the most unbounded wickedness followed. The people did not scruple to commit any crime that could be the means of present enjoyment\*. Socrates had seen all this, and was

\* Mitford, vol iii. p. 118.

he not therefore justified in refraining from exposing the defects of the established religion, while the minds of the people were unprepared to receive a better?

If Socrates had not been taught caution by this awful lesson, it would still be unfair to judge of his conduct as if he had attained to the certain knowledge of religious truth. In the most important inquiries he often paused and hesitated, and felt the want of a better guide than his own reason: he even declared, as we are informed by Plato, that these doubts must continue to be felt, until the Deity should be pleased to favour man with a more enlightened teacher.

Thus we perceive that human reason, though it may observe such traces of wisdom and benevolence in the works of creation, as shall leave no doubt of the existence of that invisible and mysterious Being, who is the original cause of all that our eyes behold, must ever be content to adore him at an immeasurable distance. The *greatness of his power* is evident to the understanding, but while the *wonders of his love* are un-



known, the heart is but slightly and transiently affected; and as reason cannot discern the extent of our obligations, it very imperfectly apprehends the duties resulting from them. Hence the manifest inconsistency between the opinions and the practice of Socrates on the subject of religious worship. Yet, in proportion to the light afforded, how greatly was he superior to many who call themselves Christians!

The venerable Rollin has made a comparison between Socrates and the martyrs of the Christian church, greatly to the disadvantage of the former; but surely such a comparison cannot be made without injustice. It was not the cold assent of the understanding to the great truth of the unity of God, but the heartfelt conviction of their infinite obligations to *him who loved them and gave himself for them*, which awakened the love, sustained the courage, and animated the faith of those noble martyrs. The cases are not parallel, and should not be brought into competition. There are, indeed, inferior points of resemblance, espe-

cially between Socrates and St. Paul, which it is pleasing to contemplate. Both of them sought to convince the polite and learned Athenians; for this purpose both frequented the markets and places of public resort, where they reasoned with all who would attend to them: both were publicly accused of seeking to introduce new gods; and both took advantage of the popular superstitions, in order to promote their great object of teaching and reforming mankind. St. Paul, in that memorable discourse recorded in the 17th of Acts, instead of vehemently censuring the idolatrous worship of the Athenians, addressed them in language adapted to their prejudices, yet calculated to remove without offending them. We are told that it was common for strangers at Athens to begin their public discourses with some compliment to the place and its inhabitants: "*Ye, men of Athens,*" said Paul, "*I perceive that you are remarkable for reverence to the gods*\*. This was the very point on which

\* The word which in our translation is rendered *too superstitious*, had a favourable meaning, synonymous with that given above.

the Athenians prided themselves; and to notice it in this manner was the most obliging and conciliating way of opening a discourse on religion. The apostle then took occasion, from an inscription on one of their altars, to declare the truth respecting that God whom they had worshipped without knowing him. As he proceeded in his discourse, he adopted another innocent method of conciliating a people, who were proud of their literature as well as of their piety, by referring to some of their own poets in confirmation of his doctrine. The passage he quotes is found in Aratus, a poet of Cilicia, the native country of St. Paul; and also in the celebrated Hymn of Cleanthes to Jupiter \*. In this there was no sacrifice of principle. Paul, far from commending the idolatrous worship of the Athenians, plainly intimated its absurdity; and while he soothed them by the assurance that the times of past ignorance had been overlooked by the Almighty, he faithfully delivered the command

\* Doddridge's Fam. Ex.

to all men every where to repent. Thus led on step by step, and won by the gentleness and forbearance of the preacher, the Areopagite, and a small but happy number listened and believed.

We now return to Socrates, or rather to his friends, whom we left overwhelmed with sorrow at the moment of his death. When they had paid the last tribute to his remains, which they interred with tears and great solemnity, they left the city, fearing that the rage of his persecutors would fall upon themselves. Soon afterwards, a Lacedæmonian youth, who had heard of the fame of Socrates, took a journey to Athens, intending to become his disciple. What must have been the effect on a young and ardent mind, educated in the severe discipline of Lycurgus, who included among forbidden luxuries all elegance and ornament of architecture, when Athens, beautiful Athens, glittering with her marble fanes and theatres, first met his view! The steep Acropolis was then crowned with the majestic and perfect form of the Parthenon; which even now,

ruined and mutilated as it is, commands the admiration of every traveller. When he reached the gates of the city, one sensation filled his mind, but it was not inspired by the magnificence of Athens. Elated with joy at being so near the accomplishment of his wishes, he asked for that revered and excellent man, who, in his estimation, was the noblest ornament of this queen of cities. Imagine the sensations of horror, of grief, and disappointment, with which he heard the story of his death! He could not be persuaded to enter the gates; but inquiring the place where Socrates was buried, he retired thither: then bursting into tears, he addressed the unconscious tenant of the sepulchre, as if he could still hear his voice, and understand his feelings. He remained there till night, when he fell asleep upon the tomb. The next morning, after kissing the dust which covered the last habitation of Socrates, he set out on his return towards his own country\*.

\* Stanley's Hist. of Philosophy, p. 92.

This was not a solitary instance; and perhaps these examples might have some influence in awakening the Athenians to a sense of their injustice. Certain it is, that they became highly exasperated with the persons who had accused Socrates. The citizens disclaimed the act, and laid the whole blame of it on the prosecutors. As for Melitus, he was condemned and executed; and Plutarch informs us, that the other accusers became so odious in the eyes of their fellow-citizens, that they would not suffer them to kindle fire in their houses: they would not even answer them any question, nor frequent the same baths, deeming the water contaminated by their touch. At length, unable to endure this mortal hatred, this terrible exclusion from society, these wretched men hanged themselves\*.

In farther testimony of their penitence, the Athenians recalled the friends of Socrates. They forbade the usual games and spectacles, as in a time of public mourn-

\* Stanley's Hist. of Philosophy, p. 93.

ing. When the theatre was again opened, Euripides exhibited a tragedy entitled *Palamedes*; in which, under the name of that hero, who was also the victim of calumny, he deplored the fate of his friend. When the actor pronounced these verses:

Parnassian Philomel, whose moral lay  
Charm'd, while it purified, th' attentive mind:  
Him, O ye Greeks! your harsh decrees have slain,  
Tho' unoffending, tho' divinely wise\*.

The audience, irresistibly struck by the recollection of Socrates, melted into tears. After this, it was forbidden to speak of him in public†.

Not content with these marks of repentance, they caused his statue, made of brass by Lysippus, to be placed in one of the most

\* For a literal translation of the passage of Euripides, which I have here attempted to paraphrase, I am indebted to the kindness of a friend, to whom this little work owes many obligations.

† Stanley's *History of Philosophy*, p. 93; and Rollin, tom. iv. p. 299.

frequented parts of the city. They even held his memory in religious veneration; and, raising a sacred edifice, as if in honour of a demi-god, they called it "The Temple of Socrates\*."

Our young readers may probably be anxious to know what was the fate of Xenophon, whose absence with the army of Cyrus prevented him from attending the last moments of Socrates. The Athenians pronounced sentence of banishment against him for having served under the Lacedæmonians. Xenophon's character did not resemble that of Clearchus; though he had obtained such glory as a general, he had profited too well by the lessons of his master, not to know that *real* happiness is to be found in domestic society, in the quiet pleasures of knowledge, and in the practice of virtue. He settled in a beautiful and retired situation, on the western shores of the Peloponnesus, and under the protection of the Lacedæmonian government.

\* Rollin, *ib.* p. 301.



The poem\* to which we have had repeated occasion to refer, gives an interesting description of Xenophon in his retirement:

“ Here, where Selinus winds his murm’ring stream,  
Midst swelling hills, with fir and olive rob’d,  
The Philosophic Warrior sought repose ;  
Here his life’s day, long overcast with storms,  
Sunk tranquil to its eve amidst the groves  
Of Scilluns ; here he found that happiness,  
Which in the busy world’s tumultuous throng,  
In courts of monarchs, and in battle’s din,  
He sought in vain. His lowly dwelling rose  
Within a valley, on a verdant lawn ;  
And as the sage beneath his aged vine  
Sat midst his children, his delighted eye  
Rang’d o’er a beauteous scene of wood and dale,  
And smooth savannas. At the blush of morn,  
To rouse the roe or wild-boar from their lairs,  
To till the ground, and train the golden fruit  
To hang in richer clusters, to lead forth  
The village festival, with song and dance,  
To Dian’s temple, were his daily tasks ;  
Save when with brow severe he studious bent  
O’er the long roll of history, and drew  
The precepts which a life’s experience taught ;  
Or wrote for kings the philosophic tale †,  
And wreath’d instruction’s fruit with fancy’s flow’rs.”

\* Haygarth’s Greece.

† The Cyropedia.

# RULES

## FOR PRONOUNCING GREEK AND LATIN PROPER NAMES.

(Taken from Walker's Key.)

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1. EVERY vowel with the accent on it at the end of a syllable, is pronounced as in English, with its first long open sound; thus, *Pláto*, *Mc'di-a*, *Pígræ*, *O'pis*, *Su'sa*, have the accented vowels sounded exactly as in the English words *páper*, *métre*, *spíder*, *nóble*, *tátor*.
2. Every accented vowel not ending a syllable, but followed by a consonant, has the short sound as in English: thus, *Ath'ens*, *Les'bos*, *In'a-chus*, *Col'chis*, &c. have the short sound of the accented vowels in *man'ner*, *plen'ty*, *prin'ter*, *col'lar*, &c.
3. Every final *i*, though unaccented, has the long open sound.  
Every unaccented *i* ending a syllable not final, is pronounced like *e*. Thus *Al-ci-bí'a-des* sounds as if written *Al-ce-bí'a-des*.
4. The diphthongs *æ* and *æ*, are pronounced like *e* in the same situations.
5. *E* final, either alone, or with the preceding consonant, always forms a distinct syllable; as, *A-lop-e-ce*. Some words which are now written with this termination, by cutting off a syllable from the original word, are exceptions to this rule. These become English words, and are pronounced accordingly: Ex. *Crete*, from *Cre'ta*.
6. *C* and *G* are hard before *a*, *o*, and *u*; and soft before *e*, *i*, and *y*.
7. *Ch* before a vowel is always to be pronounced like *k*.

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